The Rephaim

Sons of the Gods

By
Jonathan Yogev

CULTURE & HISTORY OF THE ANCIENT NEAR EAST

The Rephaim

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Abbreviations

AAT	*Ägypten und Altes Testament*
AB	Academia Biblica
AJHG	*The American Journal of Human Genetics*
AJSLL	*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures*
AJT	*The American Journal of Theology*
AKL	The Assyrian King List
ALASP	Abhandlungen zur Literatur Alt-Syrien-Palästinas
AMD	Ancient Magic and Divination
ANES	*Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
AnOr	Analecta Orientalia
AOAT	Alter Orient und Altes Testament, Ugarit Verlag
BABELAO	*Bulletin de l'Académie Belge pour l'Étude des Langues Anciennes et Orientales*
BASOR	*The Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*
BCE	Before the Common Era
BDB	Brown, F., Driver, S. R. and Briggs, C. A., *The Enhanced Brown-Driver-Briggs Hebrew and English* Lexicon (Bellingham, Washington: Logos Research System, 2000).
BM	*Beit Mikra: Journal for the Study of the Bible and Its World*
BZAW	Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft
CAD	*The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago*, Gelb, I, J., Jacobsen, T. Reiner, E., et al. (eds.), 26 Volumes, Chicgao, 1956–2010.
CBQ	*Catholic Biblical Quarterly*
CHANE	*Culture and History of the Ancient Near East*
CRSAIBL	*Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*
CTA	Herdner, A., *Corpus des Tablettes en Cuneiformes Alphabetiques: Decouvertes a Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 a 1939* (Paris: Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol 10, 1963).
CIS	*Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum*
CUW	Cunchillus, J. L., Vita, J. P. and Zamora, J. A., *A Concordance of Ugaritic Words* (Madrid, 2003).
DDD	van der Toorn, K., Becking, B. and van der Horst, P. W. (eds.), *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*, 2nd Edition (Grand Rapids, Mi/ Cambridge, UK: W. B. Eerdmans, 1999).
DMOA	Documenta et Monumenta Orientis Antiqui
DN	A name of a deity

DUL	del Olmo Lete, G. and Sanmartín, J., *A Dictionary of the Ugaritic Language in the Alphabetic Tradition* (Translated by W. G. E. Watson, Leiden/Boston: Brill, 2003).
EA	El-Amarna Letters
EB	Sukenik, E., Cassuto, U. et al (eds.), Encyclopaedia Biblica (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1950–1982).
FAT	*Forschungen zum Alten Testament*
GHD	The Genealogy of the *Hammurabi* Dynasty
HdO	Handbuch der Orientalistik
HS	*Hebrew Studies*
HSM	Harvard Semitic Monographs
HTR	*Harvard Theological Review*
HUS	Wyatt, N. and Watson, W. G. E. (eds.), *Handbook of Ugaritic Studies.* HdO 39 (Leiden: Brill, 1999).
IEJ	*Israel Exploration Journal*
JANEH	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern History*
JANER	*Journal of Ancient Near Eastern Religions*
JANES	*Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society*
JAOS	*Journal of the American Oriental Society*
JARCE	*Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt*
JBL	*Journal of Biblical Literature*
JESHO	*Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*
JCS	*Journal of Cuneiform Studies*
JHS	*Journal of Hebrew Scriptures*
JNES	*Journal of Near Eastern Studies*
JNSL	*Journal of Northwest Semitic Languages*
JQR	*The Jewish Quarterly Review*
JRAIGBI	*Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland*
JRS	*The Journal of Roman Studies*
JSJ	*Journal for the Study of Judaism*
JSOT	*Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*
JSS	*Journal of Semitic Studies*
KAI	Donner, H. and Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften* (5th edition, Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2002).
KAI II	Donner, H. and Röllig, W., K*anaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Band II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1964).
KTU	Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartin, J., *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras ibn Hani and Other Places.* AOAT 360/1 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2013).
LXX	Septuagint

LAPO	Littératures Anciennes du Proche-Orient
MLC	Del Olmo Lete, G., *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid: Institucion San Jeronimo, 1981).
MT	Masoretic Text
MUSJ	Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph
NEA	*Near Eastern Archaeology*
OLP	*Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica*
OS	Oudtestamentische Studiën
PBSR	*Papers of the British School at Rome*
PEQ	*Palestine Exploration Quarterly*
PN	Personal name/s
PRU	*Le Palais royal d'Ugarit*. Mission de Ras Shamra (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale & Klincksieck).
RGRW	*Religions in the Graeco-Roman World*
RIH	Ras Ibn Hani
RS	Ras-Shamra
SBL	Society of Biblical Literature
SEL	*Studi Epigrafici e Linguistici*
SHCANE	Studies in the History and Culture of the Ancient Near East
Shnaton	*Shnaton: An Annual for Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Studies*
SMEA	*Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici*
UDB	Cunchillos, J. L., Vita, J. P. and Zamora, J. A., *Ugaritic Data Bank* (Madrid: Online EPDF via acadamia.edu, 2003).
UF	*Ugarit Forschungen*
Ug 5	Nougayrol, J., Laroche, E., Virolleaud, Ch. and Schaeffer, C. F. A. (eds.), *Ugaritica V* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1968).
UT	Gordon, C. H., *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indice*, *AnOr* 38 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965).
Vir.	Charles Virolleaud
VT	*Vetus Testamentum*
WBC	World Biblical Commentary (Thomas Nelson/Zondervan)
ZAW	*Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft*
ZDPV	*Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

Sigla for Ugaritic and Phoenician Texts

Text in Italics	Transliteration of text that appears clearly on the medium
Text in non-Italics	Reconstructed text based on epigraphic evidence
[...]	Lacuna of text
Text in square brackets []	Reconstructed text based on plausible assumptions
(?)	Uncertain translation or transliteration
x	Uncertain sign
.	Word divider
//	Parallel lexeme
/	End of a line
{}	A scribal error

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

The attempt to understand the ancient past can be compared to finding a handful of pieces of a thousand-piece puzzle, and trying to arrange them in the correct configuration in order to figure out the entire picture. The pieces may be arranged differently or connected to others, and so the picture is constantly dynamic and never entirely clear. This is the situation we find ourselves in when we try to understand who or what the Rephaim are.

First impressions are powerful; the first encounter of modern society with the Rephaim is found in Biblical literature. They appear in several books in different contexts, and so the earliest scholarly attempts to understand them were carried out by early translators of the Hebrew texts. The inconsistency of translations demonstrates that this topic was as much of a conundrum over two thousand years ago as it is today.[1] The Biblical Apocrypha and Medieval Jewish commentators do not provide any clear answers to this conundrum either as explained below. In the modern era, scholars separated the meaning of the word *Repāīm* into two, as described by H. F. W. Gesenius;[2] The first: "Manes, shades living in Hades, according to the opinions of the ancient Hebrews, void of blood and animal life (נפש) therefore weak and languid like a sick person, but not devoid of powers of mind, such as memory." And the second: "Very ancient nation of the Canaanites beyond Jordan, famous on account of their gigantic stature." Prior to the Ras-Shamra discoveries, scholars had wondered whether the two meanings were connected, and if so, which of the two came first.[3] These discussions were not much influenced by the discoveries of three Phoenician funerary inscriptions in the second half of the 19th century that mention the Rephaim.[4] The most detailed research which deals with the

1 For example, the Septuagint may translate the word Rephaim as: *ραφαϊν*, *τιτάνων*, *ἰατροὶ* or *γίγαντας*.

2 See Gesenius, H. F. W., *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1810–12), pp. 785–786; English translation by Tregelles, S. P., *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1860), p. 776.

3 See Gordis, R., "Studies in Hebrew Roots of Contrasted Meanings," *JQR* 27 (1936), pp. 33–58 (55–56); Karge, P., *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1917), pp. 620–621; Lagrange, M. J., *Études sur les religions sémitiques* (Paris: V. Lecoffre, 1905), p. 318.

4 The Phoenician texts are KAI 14: van Dyck, C. V. A., "Sarcophagus of Esmunazar, King of Sidon," *Transactions of the Albany Institute* IV (1855), pp. 68–72; KAI 13: Renan, E., "L'inscription

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Rephaim before the Ugaritic finds was conducted by P. Karge, who was able to conclude from the Biblical and Phoenician evidence alone that the term "Rephaim" should not be separated into two meanings, but should be seen as a dynamic concept, which altered according to context and perception.[5]

C. E. L'Heureux, in his extended work on the Rephaim, claims that the history of scholarship on the Rephaim can be divided into two periods, before and after the Ugaritic discoveries.[6] This is partially true. The Ugaritic discoveries in Ras-Shamra, Syria, starting from the late 1920s, provided much more information about these mysterious characters, yet even 90 years later, scholars are still puzzled and conflicted by the concept of the Rephaim, since in most Ugaritic texts they are described in ways similar to the Biblical and Phoenician descriptions. The main departure in the Ugaritic texts is that the Rephaim are described in a positive light; they are loved and glorified, unlike the descriptions in Biblical literature. This positive attitude has led scholars to rethink the meaning of the Rephaim. Ch. Virolleaud, who published the first Ugaritic texts of the Rephaim, embraced the etymology of the root R-P-ʾ as "to heal" for the name "Rephaim," and many have followed this interpretation.[7] Inscriptions that mention the Rephaim continued to surface in Ugarit until the late 1970s, and the discussion of their meaning and function in the ancient Levant remains unresolved.

Numerous studies have been published concerning the nature of the Rephaim. Most deal with specific texts, but some discuss several sources in order to reach some general conclusions, although they do not address the entire corpus of evidence.[8] Generally, the Rephaim have been affiliated with,

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phénicienne du sarcophage royal découvert à Saïda," *CRSAIBL* 31 (1887), pp. 182–184; KAI 117: Lecoy de la Marche, H., "Recherche d'une voie romaine du golfe de Gabès vers Ghadamès," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1894), pp. 403–405.

5 See Karge, *Rephaim*, 620–621.

6 See L'Heureux, C. E., *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Baʿal, and the Repha'im* (Missoula: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 111.

7 See Virolleaud, Ch., "Les Rephaïm dans les Poèmes de Ras-Shamra," in *CRSAIBL* 83 (1939), pp. 638–640 (639); See also Annus, A., "Are there Greek Rephaim? On the Etymology of Greek Meropes and Titanes," *UF* 31 (1999), pp. 13–30; Brown, M. L., "Was There a West Semitic Asklepios?," *UF* 30 (1998), pp. 133–154 (139–140); de Moor, J. C., "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 323–345; de Moor, J. C. and Spronk, K., "More on Demons in Ugarit (KTU 1.82)," *UF* 16 (1984), pp. 237–250 (249); Rouillard, H. and Tropper, J., "*trpym*, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d'après 1Samuël XIX11–17 et les textes parallèles d'Assur et de Nuzi," *VT* 37 (1987), pp. 340–361. (359); Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 195.

8 For a selected list of studies that discuss the nature of the Rephaim by performing a synthesis of several sources see Annus, "Greek Rephaim"; Brown, "Asklepios"; Caquot, A., "Les Rephaim Ougaritiques," *Syria* 37 (1960), pp. 75–93; Dietrich M. and Loretz, O., "Baal rpu

or depicted as: 1) shades of the dead; 2) a specific group amongst the dead; 3) healers/physicians; 4) ancestors; 5) kings/rulers/judges; 6) heroes/soldiers/generals; 7) gods; 8) demigods; 9) giants/titans; 10) an ethnic group/tribe; 11) *tᵉrāpîm*; 12) fertility deities. And of course, many studies combine these concepts in an attempt to understand how a single term could provide such a diversity of interpretations.

About This Study

The numerous studies that deal with the Rephaim, as excellent as they are, provide only a partial list of the mentions of the Rephaim in various texts, or perceive some texts as more significant than others. The purpose of this study is not to summarize previous studies, but to bring together the entire list of

in KTU 1.108, 1.113 und nach 1.17 VL 25–33," *UF* 12 (1980) pp. 171–179; Dietich, M. and Loretz, O., "Rāpi'u und Milku aus Ugarit: Neuere historisch geographische Thesen *zu rpu mlk 'lm* (KTU 1.108:1) und *mt rpi* (KTU 1.17 I 1)," *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 123–131; Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012); Ford, J. N., "The Living Rephaim," *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 73–101; Gaster, T. H., *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East,* 2nd Edition, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961); Gray, J., "The Rephaim," *PEQ* 81 (1948–1949), pp. 127–139; Healey, J. F., "The Rephaites of Ancient Palestine and Ugarit", *Studies in the History and Archaeology of Palestine* 2 (1987), pp. 159–163; L'Heureux, C. E., "The Ugaritic and Biblical Rephaim," *HTR* 67 (1974), pp. 265–274; idem, *Canaanite Gods*; Horowitz, W. J., "The Significance of the Rephaim," *JNSL* 7 (1979), pp. 37–43; Levine, B. A. and de Tarragon, J., "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104 (1984), pp. 649–659; Lewis, T. J., *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*. HSM 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Liwak, R., "רפאים," *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Alten Testament* 7 (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1990), pp. 625–636; Loretz, O., "Die Teraphim als 'Ahnen-Götter-Figur(in)en' im Lichte der Texte aus Nuzi, Emar und Ugarit," *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 133–178; McAffee, M., *Life and Mortality in Ugaritic: A Lexical and Literary Study* (University Park, PA: Eisenbrauns, 2019); de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim"; Niehr, H., "Die rapi'ūma/rephā'îm als konstitutives Element der westsemitischen Königsideologie. Herkunft – Rezeptionsgeschichte – Ende," in Jonker, L., Kotzé, G. and Maier, C. M. (eds.), Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016. VTSup 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 143–178; Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182; Rouillard, H., "Rephaim," in *DDD*, pp. 692–700; Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996); Smith, M. S., *Poetic Heroes: Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2014); Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986); Suriano, M. J., *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel*. FAT II/48 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010).

sources that mention the Rephaim and to demonstrate that this puzzle *can* be solved. The key is the acknowledgment that the Biblical sources and the extra-Biblical sources depict the same concept, using opposite approaches; The Ugaritic and Phoenician sources depict the Rephaim in the same positive fashion, while the Biblical sources depict the Rephaim as negative beings. This study also shows that the first impression of the Rephaim, which derives from Biblical literature, becomes an obstacle in some studies that accept that impression as incontrovertible in places that require more flexibility. Every text that mentions the Rephaim is an important piece of the puzzle, and if arranged in the proper order, much of the complete picture is revealed.

The study is made up of three sections, each dealing with one of the three databases that mention the Rephaim: 1) the Ugaritic evidence; 2) the Phoenician evidence; 3) the Biblical evidence. Each section provides new transliterations based on epigraphic research, translations, interpretations and commentary of the relevant texts. Thus, step by step, starting with the earliest known sources, we begin our quest to reveal the true nature of the Rephaim in the ancient Near East.

FIGURE 1 The Levant

CHAPTER 2

The Ugaritic Evidence

2.1 Introduction to the Ugaritic Evidence

The discovery of the Ugaritic texts in the late 1920's, led to numerous studies about this culture, its importance in ancient Near Eastern politics in the second millennium BCE, its rituals and religion and the myths that they are based upon.[1] The Ugaritic texts are often compared to Biblical texts, as they share much in common regarding language, literature, belief systems and more, and this implies that Biblical scribes were somewhat influenced by their surroundings in various ways and were inspired by former traditions.[2]

The earliest evidence for the Rephaim appears in these texts. This allows us to establish the basis of this concept, before engaging in later examples. I chose to begin with the mythological texts, which in my view depict the original nature of the Rephaim, as explained below. Next, I discuss the ritualistic

1 For more on these subjects, see Garr, W. R., "A Population Estimate of Ancient Ugarit," *BASOR* 266 (1987), pp. 31–43; Hyatt, J. P., "Canaanite Ugarit: Modern Ras Shamra," *The Biblical Archaeologist* 2 (1939), pp. 1–8; Marsman, H. J., *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East*. OS 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2003); Rainey, A. F., *A Social Study of Ugarit* (Jerusalem: Bialik, 1967); van Selms, A., *Marriage and Family Life in Ugaritic Literature* (London: Luzac & Co., 1954); van Soldt, W. H., "The City-Administration of Ugarit", in Kogan, L. et al. (eds.), *City Administration in the Ancient Near East: Proceedings of the 53e Rencontre Assyriologique Internationale*, Vol. 2 (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 2010), pp. 247–267; Vidal, J., "Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports", *JESHO* 49 (2006), pp. 269–279; Woolley, L., "North Syria as a Cultural Link in the Ancient World," *JRAIGBI* 72 (1942), pp. 9–18.

2 For a few selected comparative studies of Biblical and Ugaritic texts, see Avishur, Y., *Stylistic Studies of Word-Pairs in Biblical and Ancient Semitic Literatures*, AOAT 210 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1984); Cassuto, U., *Biblical and Canaanite Literatures* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1972); Clifford, R. J., "Cosmogonies in the Ugaritic Texts and in the Bible," *Orientalia* 53 (1984), pp. 183–201; Cross, F. M., *Canaanite Myth and Hebrew Epic. Essays in the History of the Religion of Israel* (Cambridge/London: Harvard University Press, 1973), pp. 121–144; Day, J., *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Kloos, C., *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Korpel, M. C. A. and de Moor, J. C., "Fundamentals of Ugaritic and Hebrew Poetry," in van der Meer, W. and de-Moor, J. C. (eds.), *The Structural Analysis of Biblical and Canaanite Poetry* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 1988), pp. 1–62; Loewenstamm, S. E., "Ugaritic Literature and the Bible," *Qadmoniot* 3 (1969), pp. 83–88; de Moor, J. C., "New Year with Canaanites and Israelites," *Syria* 49, (1972), pp. 471–472.

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and cultic texts that reveal the function and importance of the Rephaim in the daily culture of the kingdom.

The Ugaritic Texts

In order to present the most accurate transcripts and transliteration of the texts, I mostly used the images from the Inscriptifact Project of Southern California University. This developing project allows access to high resolution images of many artifacts, including many Ugaritic texts. Some of the images are made by RTI (Reflectance Transformation Imaging) technology that enables to see texts in ways that were previously unavailable.[3] Other images were obtained from private collections, or were sent to me by the Louvre Museum.

For this study, I have created transcripts directly from images, while comparing them to other works in order to achieve as much precision as possible. I also refer to a variety of opinions regarding many epigraphic and philological issues, but in cases of great uncertainty, I have opted to leave some words untranslated.

A Note about Pronunciation

There is no consensus regarding the exact vocalization of the name "*Rp'um*" in Ugaritic, since the word does not appear in syllabic texts. The first syllable, /*ra*/, is mostly based on Semitic names from Ugarit, Canaan, Mari and other places written in syllabic text that carry the element *Rp'*. Examples: *Ra-pí-ú-um*; *A-bi-ra-pí*; *Ya-ku-un-ra-pí*; *Am-mu-ra-pí*; *Ra-pa-Ya-ma*; *Ra-pí*-DINGIR and more.[4] It is not certain, however, if the element *Rp'* in these names refers solely to the Rephaim, as discussed below (§2.10). For the nominative case, several readings have been suggested in various studies, such as *Rapa'ūma*, *Rāpa'ūma*, *Rāpi'ūma*, *Rapi'ūma* and so on. For this reason, I refer to the name only in its

3 "RTI technology is a computational photographic method that captures a subject's surface shape and color and enables the interactive re-lighting of the subject from any direction. RTI also permits the mathematical enhancement of the subject's surface shape and color attributes. The enhancement functions of RTI reveal surface information that is not disclosed under direct empirical examination of the physical object." (Taken from the Cultural Heritage Imaging website. It is a nonprofit corporation that focuses on imaging technologies of significant cultural artifacts).

4 For more examples, see Huffmon, H. B., *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1965), p. 264; The name *Am-mu-ra-pí*, and its variations in discussed below (§2.6); The name *Rapa-Yāma*, father of *Aḫīqam*, is attested among the Judean names found in the Al-Yahudu tablets. See Pearce, L. E., "Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence," in Stökl, J. and Waerzeggers, C. (eds.), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*. BZAW 478 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 7–32 (22). The Canaanite name *Ra-pí*-DINGIR appears in EA 151:44.

transcript form (*Rp'um*) whenever I discuss the Ugaritic and Phoenician texts. For other texts, I use the word "Rephaim," based on Hebrew scripture.

2.2 The *Rp'um* (KTU 1.20–1.22)

In the search for the identity of the Rephaim, it is best to begin with the earliest texts that are attributed to them. These texts are found on three small clay fragments from the early excavations in Ras-Shamra. The first text of the three was published in 1936 by Ch. Virolleaud with the legend of *Aqhatu*, which is discussed below (§2.3).[5] All three texts were published together by Virolleaud in 1941, along with facsimiles and translations.[6] Over the years, many studies and projects have created new editions of the texts and reached higher levels of accuracy.[7] The fragments are:

A) KTU 1.20/ RS 3.348 / Vir I Rp / UT 121 / *CTA* 20 (height: 4.8 cm, width: 8.3 cm.[8]), located in the Louvre Museum, Paris.[9] Virolleaud mentions that all three fragments were found in the excavation of 1930 in Ras Shamra, but further investigation discovered an error in this reported information, which puts this fragment among the findings of the 1931 excavation.[10] It was found outside the House of the High Priest.[11] A line that divides between columns suggests that it was part of a four or six column tablet. The only surviving text appears on one

5 See Virolleaud, Ch., *La Légende Phénicienne de Danil: Texte Cunéiforme Alphabétique avec Transcription et Commentaire* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936).

6 See Virolleaud, Ch., "Les Rephaïm. Fragments de Poèmes de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 22 (1941), pp. 1–30.

7 Notable studies which include transcriptions are Herdner, A., *Corpus des Tablettes en Cuneiformes Alphabetiques: Decouvertes a Ras Shamra-Ugarit de 1929 a 1939*. Mission de Ras Shamra, Vol 10 (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1963), pp. 92–96, including photos in Vol II: fig. 63, pl. XXXI; fig. 64, pl. XXXI; fig. 65–66, pl. XXXI; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J., *The Cuneiform Alphabetic Texts from Ugarit, Ras ibn Hani and Other Places*. AOAT 360/1 (Münster, Ugarit-Verlag, 2013), pp. 62–67; Gordon, C. H., *Ugaritic Textbook: Grammar, Texts in Transliteration, Cuneiform Selections, Glossary, Indice*. AnOr 38 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1965), pp. 191–192; Pardee, D., "Nouvelle étude épigraphique et littéraire des textes fragmentaires en langue ougaritique dits « Les Rephaïm » (*CTA* 20–22)," *Orientalia* 80 (2011), pp. 1–65; Pitard, W. T., "A New Edition of the "Rāpi'ūma," Texts: KTU 1.20–22," *BASOR* 285 (1992), pp. 33–77.

8 Because of the broken shape of the fragments, measurements quoted might be slightly different in other studies. For example, Pitard measures 5×9, Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 41.

9 The object is listed as AO 17.321.

10 See Bordreuil P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V (Paris: ERC, 1989), p. 31; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 11.

11 According to Bordreuil and Pardee, *Concordance*, 25. KTU indicate it was found in room 7.

face. There is no discernible way of knowing if the text belongs to the obverse or reverse side of the tablet. This fact is crucial for understanding the reading direction of the columns; if this is the obverse side, the left column should be read first, and if this is the reverse, the right column is the first.[12] Eleven partial lines survived on the left column (KTU 1.20, I), and twelve on the right (KTU 1.20, II).

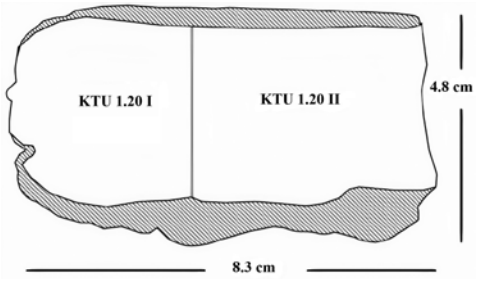

FIGURE 2
KTU 1.20 I, II

B) KTU 1.21 / RS 2.[019] / Vir II Rp / UT 122 / *CTA* 21 (height: 3.6 cm, width: 4.3 cm). Located in the National Museum of Aleppo.[13] It was found in the excavation of 1930 in Tel Ras Shamra in the House of the High Priest.[14] The fragment is badly damaged. Only 13 partial lines are preserved on one face (KTU 1.21, II), and on the other, only a few letters of a single line survived (KTU 1.21, V). The fragment is believed to belong to the middle column in a tablet of six columns. It could belong to the obverse or reverse side of the tablet.

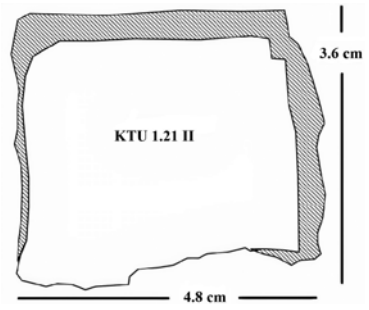

FIGURE 3
KTU 1.21, II

C) KTU 1.22 / RS 2.[024] / Vir III Rp / UT 124 / *CTA* 21 (height: 8.4 cm, width: 8.4 cm). Located in the National Museum of Aleppo.[15] It was found along with

12 This technique is mainly used by the scribe *'Ilimilku*, discussed below.
13 Museum catalogue number M 3350.
14 See Bordreuil and Pardee, *Concordance*, 27.
15 Museum catalogue number M 3351.

KTU 1.21. It is also badly damaged, but less so than KTU 1.20–21. It was part of a larger tablet, of probably four-six columns. Most of the 28 lines in the more preserved column (KTU 1.22, I) survived in full, and also part of the margins of the tablet. The other column (KTU, II) is broken close to its center, and only 26 lines are partially preserved. The other side of the tablet is mostly damaged. A few first letters of six lines are barely visible close to the margins (KTU 1.22, IV), and the rest is illegible. As with the other fragments, we cannot know which side is the obverse and which is the reverse.

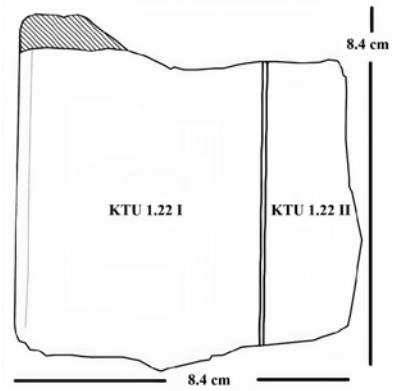

FIGURE 4
KTU 1.22 I, II

These three fragments are connected for several reasons: They all mention the *Rp'um*, and it seems that they play the main or a significant role in this myth. Furthermore, they all share repeated literary formulas. Some formulas are found in two of the fragments, and some in all three. Many attempts have been made to associate the texts with one another and with other texts as well. Some believe these fragments were made by different hands, but that they belong to the same story.[16] Others suggest that they may form a part of three tablets of a larger mythic cycle.[17] Different epigraphic studies have pointed out the unique methodology of writing in these fragments, and have determined that fragments KTU 1.21–22 were made by the same scribe, while KTU 1.20 was made by another.[18] Lately, it was argued that all three fragments are a part of a single, large, six columns tablet.[19] Nonetheless, most studies include these

16 See Caquot, A., Sznycer, M. and Herdner, A., *Textes ougaritiques I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, bibliographie, traduction, notes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), p. 1.

17 See del Olmo Lete, G., *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1981), p. 405.

18 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 41; Dijkstra shows that KTU 1.21 and KTU 1.22 belong to the same tablet, while KTU 1.20 belongs to another, see Dijkstra, M., "The Legend of Danel and the Rephaim," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 35–52 (37–38).

19 See Pardee, "Rephaïm."

fragments (with or without KTU 1.20) in the works of the most famous scribe in Ugarit; *ʾIlimilku*. This scribe was probably a high priest who lived in the mid-14th century BCE, and a privileged person with many titles, as we can learn from his signatures on some of the tablets he prepared.[20] He is responsible for the making of the most famous mythical tales which were discovered in Ugarit, such as the cycle of the god *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.1–1.6); the legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.17–1.19); the story of King *Kirta* (KTU 1.14–1.16) and probably other texts as well.[21]

Over the years, many studies have attempted to join all pieces of KTU 1.20–1.22 puzzle into a single cohesive story, and to restore the plotline in a sensible manner. Since most of the data is missing, making such attempts is mostly speculative. The following table (table 1) demonstrates how some significant studies chose to present the sequence of the textual units of the fragments.[22]

TABLE 1 Possible sequences of KTU 1.20–1.22

Virolleaud 1941	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.21, II	1.21, V	1.22, II	1.22, I	
CTA 1963	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.21, II	1.21, V	1.22, II	1.22, I	
UT 1965	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.21, II	1.21, V	1.22, II	1.22, I	
Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner 1974	1.22, II	1.22, I	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.21, II		
de Moor 1987	1.21, II	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.22, II	1.22, I		
Dijkstra 1988	1.21, II	1.22, II	1.22, I	1.22, IV	1.21, V		
Pardee 2011	1.22, I	1.21, II	1.22, II	1.20, II	1.21, V	1.20, I	1.22, IV
KTU 2013	1.20, I	1.20, II	1.21, II	1.21, V	1.22, I	1.22, II	1.22, IV

20 Cf full and partial colophons in KTU 1.4, VIII, edge; KTU 1.6, Vi, 54–58; KTU 1.16, VI, edge; KTU 1.17, VI, edge, KTU 1.179, 40.

21 For a partial list of studies regarding *ʾIlimilku* see de Moor, J. C., "How Ilimilku Lost his Master (RS 92.2016)," *UF* 40 (2009), pp. 179–190; Freilich, D., "Ili-Malku the ṯ'y," *SEL* 9 (1992), pp. 21–26; Hawley, R., Pardee, D. and Roche-Hawley, C., "The Scribal Culture of Ugarit," *JANEH* 2 (2016), pp. 229–267; Wyatt, N., "Ilimilku's Ideological Programme: Ugaritic Royal Propaganda, and a Biblical Postscript," *UF* 29 (1997), pp. 775–796; Wyatt, N., "The Evidence of the Colophons in the Assessment of Ilimilku's Scribal and Authorial Role," *UF* 46 (2015), pp. 399–446; Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "A Trainee and a Skilled Ugaritic Scribe – KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.4," *ANES* 50 (2013), pp. 237–242.

22 Presented by KTU cataloging system. Since KTU 1.21, V and KTU 1.22, IV barely present text, they are not always included.

The conflicting opinions regarding the right sequence of the texts show that the literary and epigraphic evidence of the fragments can be used to support any view. One of them might be correct, but until new evidence presents itself, I do not believe the correct sequence, let alone the plotline of the *Rp'um* myth, can be determined. The purpose of this chapter is to present the reader a full transcription and translation of the texts, and to retrieve whatever knowledge we can from each one of the textual units in order to see who the *Rp'um* were based on this myth.

KTU 1.20 I / RS 3.348, Left column / Vir I Rp A / UT 121 I / *CTA* 20 A

1	[... rp]ʾu*m* . *t*dbḥn	[... Rp]*ʾum* feast
2	[...]xʿ*d* . *ʾilnym*	[...] The divine ones
3	[...]x*mtmtm*	[...] Heroes among men
4	[...]b kq*rb* . s*d*	[...] as the company approaches
5	[...]n(?) by*m* . *qẓ*	[...] on a summer's day
6	[...]x*m* . tl*ḥmn*	[...] they eat
7	[...]x*m* . tš*tyn*	[...] they drink
8	[...]ʾil . *dʿrgzm*	[...] god of medicinal plants (?)
9	[...]x d*t* . *ʿl* . *lty*	[...] who (fem.) is over ... (?)
10	[...]td*bḥ* . *ʾamr*	[...] slaughter a lamb (?)
11	[...]y[...]	[...]

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Line 1: The letter /*ʾu*/ appears partially but can be identified. *t*dbḥn – The letters /*dbḥn*/ are slightly erased, yet identifiable. Ugaritic *dbḥ* may be understood as "sacrifice," "offering" and also as "sacrificial banquet."[23]

Line 2: xʿ*d* – KTU reconstruct the letter /*b*/ (bʿ*d*) but /*ṣ*/ is also a possibility according to *CTA*. The letter /ʿ/ is also not completely clear but very probable. Some reconstruct the word *šbʿd* ("seven times") and some *tsʿd* ("strengthened").[24] *ʾilnym* – An adjective or a noun which most translate as the plural of *ʾilny*:

23 See *DUL*, 259–260.

24 For the first opinion see Smith, M. S., *Poetic Heroes: Literary Commemorations of Warriors and Warrior Culture in the Early Biblical World* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2014), p. 142; Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*. 2nd Edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), p. 315; for the second see de Moor, J. C., *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 267; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 164.

"divine-one."[25] This word appears only in mythic context, and mostly in KTU 1.20–1.22. It also appears in KTU 1.3, IV, 35 (//*'ilm* = parallel to "gods") and KTU 1.6, VI, 47, also in connection with the *Rp'um* and divine characters.

Line 3: x*mtmtm* – The /x/ sign seems to be composed of several horizontal wedges. KTU read /*k*/ and suggest: km *tmtm*. Pitard sees it as /w/.[26] *CTA* suggest: 1 km *'amtm*, which follows Virolleaud's suggestion: *km 'amtm*.[27] The images show the letters *mtmtm* very clearly, and this leads to a major part of the discussion regarding the nature of the *Rp'um* in Ugaritic literature and other places in context of "shades of the dead." The Ugaritic word *mt* has several meanings that can mostly be divided into two semantic groups, which can be connected: 1) it might refer to the idea of death: "death," "to die," "the god of Death," "dead person," "deceased," "to remain immobilized." 2) "Man," "husband," "mortal," "member," "hero."[28] The translations for line 3 vary: "like the dead," "like the ancient dead," "Like the dead of the dead."[29] de Moor explains the nature of the *Rp'um* in this text thus: "the dead were supposed to suffer insatiable hunger and thirst if they had no relatives on earth who could take care of their regular offerings".[30] The idea of the dead who are need of substance is known in Ugarit as well as in other places in the ancient Near East. Many graves were excavated in Tel Ras Shamra, Minet el Beida and Ras Ibn Hani. The archaeological evidence reveals some physical connection between the living environment and burial grounds. Some graves were located under houses, so that offerings of food could be easily brought to the dead.[31] Yet, focusing

25 Cf DUL, 57–58; Tropper translates as "Götter/n.," see Tropper, J., *Ugaritische Grammatik.* AOAT 273 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), p. 770.

26 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 42.

27 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 2; Aistleitner translates as "two maids," see Aistleitner, J., *Die mythologischen und kultischen Texte aus Ras Schamra.* Bibliotheca Orientalis Hungarica 8 (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1964), p. 84.

28 See *DUL*, 588–591.

29 Accordingly, see Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 142; Lewis, T. J., "The Rapiuma," in Parker, S. B. (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 1997), pp. 196–205 (197); Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 164.

30 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 267.

31 See Schaeffer, C. F. A., "Les Fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Neuvième campagne (printemps 1937): Rapport sommaire," *Syria* 19 (1938), pp. 193–255; Schaeffer, C. F. A., *The Cuneiform Texts of Ras Shamra-Ugarit* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1939), pp. 46–56; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 142–161: Spronk suggests other texts that may support this as well, as KTU 1.142, found in the Southern Acropolis of the Tel. This short text describes a sacrifice made by an individual to a buried person. Yet, it is difficult to say whether this sacrifice was made next to the tomb, or is it a priestly document that provides proof of a sacrifice in the name of the deceased. This subject will be discussed in context of KTU 1.161, KTU 1.108 and other places.

on this line, it is unlikely that we are dealing with the dead. The fragments KTU 1.20–1.22 may have an obscure plotline, but they do depict vivid *Rp'um* who eat, drink and very mobile and active. The *Rp'um* myth presents these beings when they are at their peak; brave warriors, mortal heroes who are *also* considered to be divine. Evidence for this translation can be even found later on in this fragment, when the scribe mentions *Dān'ilu*, the main protagonist in the legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.20, II, 7–8). As I will subsequently show, *Dān'ilu* is one of the *Rp'um*, a known hero, and very much alive, as can be clearly seen by his ability to reproduce, and by his own growing fear of dying without an heir. I believe this construct should be read as "heroes of heroes" or "heroes among men," since the *nomen regens* can also represent the plural form of *mt*. The word *mtm* as "heroes" or "men" also appears in KTU 1.22, I, 6–7 as a part of the word-pair *mtm*//*ǵzrm* ("heroes"//"warriors") regarding the *Rp'um*.[32] The same word-pair is used to describe *Dān'ilu* in this fragment, and in other places too. The starting point of this study is to see the *Rp'um* as living characters, until new evidence will be brought to this discussion.

Line 4: The letters /b kq/ can be partially recognized despite of the tablet's condition. KTU see a word divider after the letter /*b*/. Virolleaud and *CTA* read: *b*(?) *w t'rb* . *s*(?)*d*.[33] s*d* – The three vertical wedges which compose the letter /*s*/ are very close and look like a single large wedge that may appear as a large /*g*/. UT suggests accordingly *g*(?)*d*. Latest editions agree with /b kq*rb* . s*d*/.[34] Most translate /*sd*/ as "company," "assembly" or "council."[35]

Line 5: n(?) – The first sign is composed of two horizontal wedges. Most see part of the letter /*n*/. Pardee suggests /*a*/ which is also probable.[36] b y*m* – The letters /b y/ are partially erased, yet visible. *b ym* . *qẓ*: Most translate *qẓ* as "summer." Some suggest "summer fruit."[37] This partial line provides a possible time frame for the season in which the events occur.

Line 6: [...]x*m* – The /x/ stands for an erased sign which cannot be identified by high resolution images. *CTA* see the letter /*y*/, which is restored

32 Examples of *mt* as "hero" in other places can be found in KTU 1.3, I, 13; KTU 2.10, 12. For more on *ǵzr*, see *DUL*, 324–325.

33 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 2.

34 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48; Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 44–45.

35 See *DUL*, 742; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 164; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 315. Its translation mostly lies on Hebrew סוד, Cf. Gen 49:6; Jer 6:11.

36 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 16.

37 Both are possible. For more on *qẓ* as "fruit" see *DUL*, 711; Cf also in Biblical Literature: Jer 40:10–12; Am 8:1; Mich 7:1 and more. de Moor ties this scene to a ceremony of feeding the spirits of the dead with the first fruits of summer in the New Year's festival. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 268. Pardee translates as "the end of a summer's day," see Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48.

by KTU 1.22, II, 23: *ym . tlḫmn . rpʾum*, while Virolleaud suggests restoring [ʾiln]*y*(?)*m tlḫmn.*[38] Pardee sees /x/ as /ʾi/ and reads [rp]ʾi*m* tl*ḫmn.*[39] tl*ḫmn* – The letters /tl/ in the word tl*ḫmn* ("they eat") can be recognized, and are also very clear in comparison to its parallel word *tštyn* ("they drink") in line 7.[40]

Line 7: [...]x*m* – /x/ – Only a part of two horizontal wedges survived. Pitard suggests /*r*/.[41] *CTA* reads /ʾ*u*/ as a part of [rp]ʾ*um*. The letters /*tš*/ in *tštyn* are slightly damaged, yet legible.

Line 8: The word *ʾil* (god) can be identified despite some damaged parts. There is no epigraphic debate regarding the word *dʿrgzm*. /*d*/ is a determinative and *ʿrgzm* is a word which recent philological studies of botany translate as a sort of plant or fruit, such as "juniper berries" or "aromatic and medicinal substance."[42]

Line 9: [...]x – /x/ – A possible horizontal wedge appears on the lower part of the line. *lty* – The word appears only once in Ugaritic according to *CUW*. The letter /*t*/ resembles /*a*/. d*t . ʿl . lty* – The interpretations vary: "who is in charge of," "who is over," "[The goddess] who is sitting on a twig!"[43] Clearly there is too little information to determine the meaning of this line.

Line 10: [...]td*bḥ* – The letter /*t*/ is barely visible. The letters /*dbḥ*/ can be partially seen. ʾ*amr* – Virolleaud suggests /ʾ*a*/ can also be /*n*/. Some suggest reading ʾ*amr* as "lamb," a variation of ʾ*imr*, yet this is not certain.[44]

Line 11: The top of the letter /*y*/ is the only recognizable sign in this line, and it is impossible to know how many lines are missing.

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38 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 2.

39 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48; Pitard agrees that the sign is unidentifiable, see Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 46.

40 A known word-pair, cf KTU 1.114, 2; KTU 1.4, VI, 55.

41 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 42.

42 See *DUL*, 179; Belmonte Marín, J. A., "Comments on Some Botanical Terms in Ugaritic Toponyms," in del Olmo Lete, G., Vidal, J. and Wyatt, N. (eds.), *The Perfumes of Seven Tamarisks, Studies in Honour of Wilfred G. E. Watson*. AOAT 394 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2012), pp. 97–120 (109); Other interpretations: "Jujube trees," de Moor, *Anthology*, 268; "Nut-groves," Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 316, and more. Cf KTU 1.24, 43.

43 Accordingly: Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 198; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 142; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 164; Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner suggest a scribal error based on KTU 1.22, I, 10 (*ʿllmy*), since the difference between /*t*/ and /*m*/ is an addition of a single vertical wedge. See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 477.

44 See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 478; Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 173–174. de Moor translates: "[I have sacrifice]d the sacrifice of Amurru," and explains that Amurru was probably the name of the country ruled by *Dān'ilu*. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 268; For more on *ʾamr* see *DUL*, 69–70.

KTU 1.20 II / RS 3.348, Right column / Vir I Rp B / UT 121 II / *CTA* 20 B

1	*t̲mn . bqrb . hk*ly	Eight in my palace
1–2	*ʾa*[*t̲*rh . rpʾum] / *td*d	To the pl[ace, Rpʾum] will hurry
	ʾa*t̲*rh . t*dd . ʾil*[m	To the sanctuary, the god[s] will hurry
2–3	mrkbt] / ʾasr	They yoked [the chariots]
	sswm . tṣmd . bg[…]	They harnessed the horses …
4	*tʿln . lmrkbthm .*/	They mounted their chariots
	*t*ʾi[ty . ʿl . ʿrhm]	They ca[me on their donkeys]
5	*tlkn . ym . wt̲n*	They went for a day, and a second
	*ʾaḫ*r . š[pšm . bt̲lt̲]	After su[nrise, on the third]
6–7	*mǵy rpʾum . lgrnt .*	The Rpʾum arrive to the threshing-floors
	ʾi[lnym . l] / *mṭʿt*	Th[e divine ones to] the plantations
7–8	*wyʿn . dnʾil* [mt . rpʾi]	And *Dānʾilu*, [man of *Rpʾi*] spoke
8	*yt̲b . ǵzr . mt hrnm*y	The hero, man of *Hrnm*y, said:
8–9	[rpʾum] / *bgrnt .*	[The Rpʾum] are at the threshing-floors
	ʾilm . bqrb . m[ṭʿt …	The gods are in the [plantations …]
10	*dtʾit . yspʾi . spʾu . q*[…]	… who have come to eat, feed …
11	*tpḫ . ṯṣr . sh*r[…]	… Apple/Apricot …?
12	br[…]x[…]	[…]

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Line 1: *t̲mn . bqrb . hk*ly – There is a consensus regarding the reading of these words despite the erosion of the upper part of the tablet. Some see a tail of /*ʾa*/ at the end of the line and complete it with *ʾat̲rh . rpʾum* by repeated formulas in KTU 1.20–1.22.[45] Some see a tail of /*r*/ and complete it to *rpʾum . ʾat̲rh* according to KTU 1.21, II, 3,11.[46] Based on known word-pairs and "number parallelism" in Ugaritic poetry, it is possible that the previous line included the words *šbʿ . bbty* ("Seven in my house") as some have suggested.[47]

Line 2: Second *td*d – The middle /*d*/ is very difficult to make out, and looks more like a /*p*/. *ʾil* – A tip of a horizontal wedge appears after /*l*/. Some complete this to *ʾilm* and others to *ʾilnym*; either is acceptable. The chiastic parallelism

45 As *CTA* and KTU.

46 As *UDB*. The tail of the /*r*/ appears in fig. 12 in Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 47.

47 See Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 198; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 165; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 316; For more on number parallelism see Haran, M., 'The Graded Numerical Sequence and the Phenomenon of "Automatism" in Biblical Poetry", in de Boer, P. A. H. (ed.), *Congress Volume Uppsala 1971*. VTSup 22 (Leiden: Brill, 1972), pp. 238–267; Roth, W. M. W., 'The Numerical Sequence x/x + 1 in the OT," *VT* 12 (1962), pp. 300–311; Watson, W. G. E., "Number Parallelism Again," *UF* 25 (1993), pp. 435–40.

is demonstrated very well between both half-lines. I restored the lacuna using KTU 1.22, II, 22 (ʾa*sr* . *m*r[kbtm …]), but this is not conclusive.

Line 3: bg[…] – /*b*/ can be recognized. /*g*/ which has been suggested by most scholars is a straight deep vertical wedge which can either be a damaged /*ḫ*/ or /*z*/.[48]

Line 4: *t*ʾi – Most scholars see the bottom part of /ʾ*i*/ and complete it to *tʾity* ("They came"). *t*ʾi[ty . ʿl . ʿrhm] – Virolleaud completes the line using the repeated formula in KTU 1.22, II, 23–26 with *l* . *ʿrhm* and translate it "to their town."[49] Others complete with *ʿl* . *ʿrhm* ("on donkeys" or "on stallions").[50] The second option seems more likely, since "chariots," "horses" and "donkeys" belong to the same semantic field which is used to describe mounted warriors.[51]

Line 5: š[pšm] – The left part of /*š*/ is visible. Most translate this as "sunrise" but others suggest "sunset."[52] "Sunrise" seems more likely, since the element of urgency suggested by riding all night helps characterize the importance of the rider's purpose.[53] Most accept Virolleaud's restoration of *špšm* . *bṯlṯ*, after KTU 1.14, IV, 31–34: *tlkn* / *ym* . *wṯn* ʾa*ḫr* / *šp*[š]*m* . *bṯlṯ* / *y*m[ǵy], which is almost similar.

Line 6: ʾi[lnym . l] – Most studies see the lower part of the letter /ʾ*i*/. Virolleaud completes this to *ʾilnym* ("divine ones"), while others complete to *ʾilm* ("gods") using line 9 (*bgrnt* . *ʾilm*).[54] Both options are valid.

Lines 7–8: *mṭʿt* – According to *CUW*, this word is used only here in Ugaritic. *DUL* compares to Hebrew מטע. The words *grnt*//*mṭʿt* are synonyms here, and this fits the idea of a wide space outside the city gates where the grain is threshed and may be used for the gathering of other fruit and vegetables or for public affairs such as ceremonies and trials.[55] *wyʿn* . *dnʾil* [mt rpʾi] / *yṯb* . *ǵzr* . *mt hrnm*y – The restoration relies on several places from the legend of *Aqhatu*.[56]

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48 Spronk restores to dg[lm tšʾu] – "raised their banners." But this is based on very little evidence. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 165.

49 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 4. Cf KTU 1.15, III, 17–19.

50 See Dijkstra, M. and de Moor, J. C., "Problematical Passages in the Legend of Aqhatu," *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 171–215 (214); L'Heureux, C. E., *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Ba'al, and the Repha'im* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 133; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48. See *ʿr* in *DUL*, 175–176.

51 Cf Biblical literature for warriors on donkeys: Jud 10:4; 12:14; 2 Kgs 7:10; Isa 21:7.

52 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 269; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 198.

53 This element appears in Biblical literature as well. See 1 Sam 31:12; 2 Sam 2:29; 4:7; 1 Kgs 19:8.

54 As Pardee, who completes the line with ʾi[lm bqrb] according to line 9. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48; KTU complete to ʾi[lm l].

55 See Hirschberg, H. Z. and Loewenstamm, S. E., "Goren," EB vol 2, 1954, pp. 559–560.

56 Cf KTU 1.17, I, 17–18; I, 36–37; II, 27–29; V, 4–5; KTU 1.19, I, 37–38 and more.

Because of the damaged parts to the fragment, it is difficult to say what exactly *Dān'ilu*'s part is here. We see that the *Rp'um* ride for three days and arrive at a city, and when they do, *Dān'ilu* speaks, requesting they be served food. Some interpret this scene as if the *Rp'um* come to visit *Dān'ilu*, and they all meet at the city gates.[57] This interpretation is based on very little evidence in this broken fragment. There is no element of joy or surprise, as might be expected in a meeting such as this between him and the group, nor the known favorable idiomatic phrase: *bnši ʿnh wyphn* ("Lifting his eyes, he sees"), which generally comes before an important encounter.[58] It is more likely that *Dān'ilu*, man of *Rp'i*, rides along with the *Rp'um*, when they arrive and demand to be fed. As can be seen from KTU 1.21–1.22, the text does not revolve around *Dān'ilu* or *Aqhatu*, or any parts of the plot in KTU 1.17–1.19.

Line 9: *m*[ṭʿt] – The restoration is almost certain by parallelism (//*bgrnt*). Some complete this line with *bgrnt . ʾilm . bqrb . m*[ṭʿt .ʾilnym], creating a parallel bicolon ("At the threshing-floors, O gods // In the plantations, O divines").[59]

Line 10: Some restore to: [ʾilnym] *dtʾit . ysp'i . sp'u* ("Let the divines who come to be fed").[60] Others separate between the verbs and suggest that the imperative *sp'u* ("feed") belongs to the second half-line in the parallel.[61] *q*[...] – KTU sees a partial /*d*/ after /*q*/ and complete it according to KTU 1.161 (8, 24) to *qdmym* (which is discussed below, §2.6), but other epigraphic studies do not see the letter /*d*/.[62] It is difficult to say when *Dān'ilu*'s speech ends.

Line 11: *tpḫ* – Most translate as "apple," yet "apricot" is also a possibility.[63] *ṯṣr* – It is a word used only here in Ugaritic according to *CUW*, with uncertain meaning.[64] *sh*r – The upper part of the /*r*/ is visible. This word also appears once in Ugaritic with uncertain meaning.[65]

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57 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 266; Dijkstra, M., "The Legend of Danel and the Rephaim," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 35–52 (46).

58 Cf in the legend of *Aqhatu*: KTU 1.17, V, 9; VI, 10; KTU 1.19, I, 29; II, 27; II, 56; III, 28–29. See Cassuto, *Biblical and Canaanite*, 24–25.

59 See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 46; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 133.

60 See Dijkstra and de Moor, "Problematical Passages," 46; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 166.

61 See Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 144; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 317.

62 Virolleaud suggests *tʿ*. The two letters put together may resemble /*q*/. According to the images, the angle of the second wider wedge leans towards /*q*/.

63 See Watson's discussion of apples and apricots in Watson, W. G. E., "A Botanical Snapshot of Ugarit: Trees, Fruit, Plants and Herbs in the Cuneiform Texts," *Aula Orientalis* 22 (2004), pp. 107–155 (129); Cf KTU 4.643:14.

64 Some correct to *ṣṣr* as "Juice," see *MLC*, 644; a "festival," Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 46; or as "birds," *DUL*, 184.

65 Some translate as "round": de Moor, *Anthology*, 267; *MLC*, 595. It is possible that a part of the word is missing.

Line 12: The upper part of about three signs is visible. KTU see: brd xx bpx[...]. Pitard sees: b*r*_[...] b_[...] and Pardee sees only the /*r*/.[66]

Comments on KTU 1.20

There is very little evidence in this fragment about the *Rp'um* or the plotline of the story. Much is happening, yet all we can describe is what we see from broken pieces of information. First, we know that the *Rp'um* are a small group of maybe seven or eight individuals.[67] We know they are called "divine ones" and "gods," and they are also described as *mtm* ("heroes" or "men"), similar to *Dān'ilu*. The *Rp'um* feast and drink. As next text reveal, the scribe took his time and cleared space to describe the wines and foods they have, in a manner that only suits gods and kings, and not spirits of the dead, as some suggest. The *Rp'um* ride chariots, and maybe donkeys as well. These *mrkbt* are well-known in the ancient Near East as fast vehicles, used by kings, warriors and soldiers. They were light and meant to carry up to four people, each fulfilling a specific function. These chariots were different from cargo wagons that were built to carry heavier loads.[68] The *Rp'um* are mobile, and travel for days on roads. They are probably invited to a palace or a temple (*hkl*) by someone, a king or a god for some important occasion. The place is set inside a city, as shown by the threshing-floors in front of the gates.

KTU 1.21 II / RS 2.[0190] / Vir II Rp A / UT 122 / *CTA* 21 A

1	[...]m(?)*rzʿy* .	... my [m]rzḥ(?)
1–2	*lk* bt*y*/ [rp'um	Go to my house, [*Rp'um*
	bb]t*y* . *aṣḥ*km [.]	To my h]ouse I will call for you
2–3	ʾi*qrʾa*/km [*ʾilnym* bh]k*ly* .	I will summon you to my pa[lace, divine ones]
3–4	*ʾaṯrh* . *rp'um* / [ltdd	To the sanctuary, *Rp'um*, [hurry
	ʾaṯrh] . *ltdd* . *ʾilnym*	To the sanctuary], hurry, divine ones
5	[... m(?)]*rzʿy* .	... my [m]rzḥ(?)
5–6	*apank* . *yrp*/[um]	Even I, O *Rp*['um]
	[...]k*m* . *rʿy* .	... My friends
6–7	*ht* . *ʾalk* /[*ym* . *wṯn* ...]	Now I shall walk [a day and a second]
	[b]*ṯlṯt* . *ʾamǵy* . *lbt*	[On the] third I will arrive to the house

66 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 48; Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 42.

67 There is no evidence of an entire army of *Rp'um*, as Dijsktra suggests. See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 46.

68 See Schulman, A. R., "The Egyptian Chariotry: A Reexamination," *JARCE* 2 (1963), pp. 75–98; Sukenik, Y. and Yadin, Y., "Note on *ṯlṯ sswm* in the legend of Keret," *JCS* 2 (1948), pp. 11–12; Yadin, Y., "Merkābā," EB vol 5, (1968), pp. 462–472.

8	[... bqr]b . *hkly* .	[... amidst] my palace
	wyʿn . *il*	And *ʾIlu* spoke:
9	[... mrzʿ]y .	... my [mrzḥ](?)
	lk . *bty* . *rpʾim*	Go to my house, *Rpʾum*
10	[bbty ʾaṣ]ḫ*km* .	[To my house I will c]all for you
10–11	ʾiqrʾakm / [ʾilnym bhkl]*y*.	I will summon you to my [palace, divine ones]
11–12	*ʾaṯrh* . *rpʾum*/ [ltdd	To the sanctuary, *Rpʾum*, [hurry
	aṯ]r*h* . *ltd*d .ʾi[ln]y[m]	To the sanc]tuary, hurry, d[ivine-o]nes
13	[...]rʾa/n[...]	[...]

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Line 1: m(?)*rzʿy* – Much ink has been spilled over this word and its relation to this text and to other ancient Near Eastern and Biblical texts. The root of this discussion lies in the interpretation of the first sign as the letter /*m*/, and the suggestion that the restored word, *mrzʿy*, is an allophone of *mrzḥy*, and then in clarifying the meaning of the *mrzḥ* and its connection to this fragment and to the *Rpʾum* in general.[69] This debate is complex, beginning with the epigraphic evidence. The first sign of the word is a single vertical wedge, which might be a part of the letter /*m*/, but also of other letters as /*ṣ*/, /*l*/ and more. Virolleaud was the first to restore the letter /*m*/ and many followed. Pitard concludes that the restoration of /*m*/ is almost certain and states: "... there is a clear juncture point on the upper left side of the wedge at the precise spot where the horizontal of an /*m*/ meets the vertical."[70] *CTA* doubt this restoration, and so does Pardee.[71] This epigraphic debate is highly subjective. In my opinion, having examined the high-resolution images of the fragment, it is impossible to conclude with certainty that the letter is /*m*/. Nevertheless, we cannot ignore the large number of studies which use the restoration of *mrzʿy* in this fragment and include it in a study dedicated to the *mrzḥ* institution in cultures of the ancient Near East.

The institution of the *mrzḥ* is mentioned in various texts from different locations such as Ebla, Ugarit, Emar, Moab, Phoenicia, Nabatea, Palmyra and Biblical literature. It has been the subject of many studies that try to explain the meaning and function of this institution in ancient societies. Those who see the *Rpʾum* as shades of the dead usually connect the *mrzḥ* with funereal

69 Examples of *mrzḥ* in Ugaritic can be found in KTU 1.114; KTU 3.9; KTU 4.399; KTU 4.642 and more. For *mrzʿy*/*mrzḥy* see *DUL*, 573–574.

70 Pitard also notes that restoring the letter /*l*/ is conceivable. See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 52.

71 Pardee, "Rephaïm," 24.

rites or some kind of cult which involves drinking and the spirits of the ancestors, but this view is supported by very little evidence.[72] Others tie the *mrzḥ* with the New Year festival, or a place that was meant for festivities of many kinds, even though it is difficult to assume that this institution served the same function for thousands of years in places that were not geographically close to one another.[73] Some scholars are very skeptical in the identification of a connection between the *mrzḥ*, the *Rp'um* and a cult of the dead in KTU 1.21.[74] The most recent and thorough study of the *mrzḥ* in the ancient Near East was published in 2001 by J. L. Mclaughlin, who also includes some new epigraphic discoveries. After taking all of the extra-Biblical references of the *mrzḥ* into account, he concludes that this institution has three common elements: 1) it is a place where the guests drink large quantities of alcohol; 2) they are members of the upper class and the wealthy; 3) and that it has some religious context. It was designated for various occasions that may include joyful celebrations as well as mourning rituals.[75] In conclusion, even though the appearance of the *mrzḥ* in this fragment might be questioned by epigraphic arguments, it does seem to fit here for literary reasons; the Ugaritic *Rp'um* are always from the upper class, they drink and feast and appeal to the gods. In any case, it seems that the *mrzḥ* has no specific connection with the cult of the dead, neither

72 Cf Pope, M. H., "A Divine Banquet in Ugarit," in Efird, J. M. (ed.), *The Use of the Old Testament in the New and Other Essays: Studies in Honor of W. F. Stinespring* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1972), pp. 170–203 (190–194); de Moor, Anthology, 266; Dijkstra supports the connection between the *mrzḥ* and the chthonic nature of the *Rp'um*. See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 42; Some use Jer 16:5 as evidence: "… For thus said Yahweh: Do not enter a house of mourning, do not go to mourn or show sympathy…." According to Bryan, this is the only piece of evidence which can somehow connect mourning and the *mrzḥ* institution. He sees the *mrzḥ* as a joyful banquet which can encourage the mournful people in their grief, and so the connection can be easily understood. See Bryan, D. B., *Texts Relating to the Marzeah: A Study of an Ancient Semitic Institution*, Unpublished Dissertation (Johns Hopkins University, 1973), pp. 12, 69–70.

73 For the various opinions of this institution, see J. C. Greenfield, "The Marzeah as a Social Institution," in Harmatta J. and Komoróczy, G. (eds.), *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft im Allen Vorderasien* (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó 1976), pp. 451–455; King, P. J., "The "Marzēaḥ": Textual and Archaeological Evidence," *Eretz-Israel* 20 (1989), pp. 98–106; Margalit, B., "The Ugaritic Feast of the Drunken Gods: Another Look at RS 24.258 (KTU 1.114)," *Maarav* 2 (1979–80), pp. 65–120; Miller, P. D., "The Mrzh Text," in Fisher, L. R., Astour, M. C. and Miller, P. D. (eds.), *The Claremont Ras Shamra Tablets.* AnOr 48 (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1972), pp. 37–50.

74 See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 212; Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 62–66; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 201.

75 See Mclaughlin, J. L., *The Marzeah in the Prophetic Literature: References and Allusions in Light of the Extra-Biblical Evidence*. VTSup 86 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 214–217.

here nor anywhere else. Mclaughlin suggests the *mrzḥ* in this text depicts the invitation of the *Rp'um* by *'Ilu*, head of the Ugaritic pantheon, to his banquet.[76]

bt*y* – The letters /*bt*/ can easily be distinguished. Virolleaud restores this line: [*wyʿn . 'il .*]*mrzʿy . lk bty* ("And *'Ilu* declares: My *mrzḥ*, come to my house") based on line 8, where *'il* appears, yet it is difficult to say who the speaker is here.[77] Lines 1–4 are reconstructed using repeated formulas which partially appear here, and also in lines 9–12, KTU 1.22, II, 8–11; 19–21. The formulas are never complete; sometimes a half-line misses the head, the tail or the body, yet, comparing them, side by side, it is possible to reconstruct the original formula with a great deal of accuracy.[78]

Line 2: t*y* – The partial horizontal wedge of /*t*/ appears. Most complete to *bty* or *bbty* ("my house"; "in my house"), as a part of the invitation of the *Rp'um* by the speaker, which is very probable.

Line 3: [h]k*ly* – The right half of /*k*/ appears very clearly, and most complete to *hkly* ("my palace"). It is also compatible to the known word-pair *bt*//*hkl* ("house"//"palace") which is used in lines 7–8 and maybe in other places in this text. *'aṯrh* – Also translated to "his shrine," "its place" and more.[79]

Line 4: [ltdd 'aṯrh] – KTU see evidence of the last /*h*/. Restoration is accepted by most in comparison with repeated formulas.[80]

Line 5: [m(?)]*rzʿy* – Once again, the first letter is missing as in line 1. *apa*n*k* – Virolleaud reads *apnnk*. This was dismissed as a scribal error, even though the images show *apa*n*k*.[81] The letter /*n*/ of *ank* resembles the letter /*'a*/. *yrp* – most complete to *yrp*['um] and see the /*y*/ as a vocative case and *rp'um* as a word which has been divided between two lines.[82] Other translations agree with Virolleaud who completes it to *yrp*['u] and translates it to "il vous guér[ira]" in context of healing.[83] The connection between the *Rp'um* and "healing" has

76 See Mclaughlin, *Marzeah*, 33. Cf *'Ilu*'s *mrzḥ* in KTU 1.114, 15.

77 de Moor suggests *Dān'ilu* is the speaker. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 266.

78 See all the reconstructed formulas in KTU 1.20–1.22 in Pardee, "Rephaïm," 40–43.

79 See Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 199; Smith, *Poetic heroes*, 146; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 318; Cf *'aṯr* in *DUL*, 123–124.

80 Cf KTU 1.20, II, 2; KTU 1.22, II, 6–11.

81 See Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 205, note 4.

82 See Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen*, 84; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 200; *MLC*, 419; Smith, *Poetic heroes*, 146; For vocative case in Ugaritic see Singer, A. D., "The Vocative in Ugaritic," *JCS* 2 (1948), pp. 1–10; Sivan, D., *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2001), pp. 186–187; Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 317; For more examples of words divided over two lines by *'Ilimilku* the scribe, see Segert, S., "Words Spread Over Two Lines," *UF* 19 (1987), pp. 283–288.

83 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 266; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 167); L'Heureux translates *yrp* to "will be refreshed." See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 138.

almost no basis, as will be explained soon, and it seems that the speaker is still addressing the *Rp'um*, and does not speak of them in the third person.

Line 6: []k*m* . *rʿy* – /*k*/ is mostly visible. The two main translations for *rʿy* are: 1) "my/a shepherd";[84] 2) "my friend/s";[85] From a philological point of view, both options are valid, although the more elegant translation seems to be the second one; someone is inviting the *Rp'um* to his house, and the kind familiarity is expressed well with this title. *ht* – a unique adverb in Ugaritic, usually translated to "now" by context.[86]

Line 7: [*ym* . *wṯn*] – The formulaic structure which also appears in KTU 1.20, II, 5 and other places, can be reconstructed here by context and the appearance of the word [b]*ṯlṯt* ("on the third").[87] *lbt* – Most studies complete to *lbty* ("to my house"), using the lacuna in line 8. This is done due to the appearance of *hkly* ("my palace") in line 8, which completes the word-pair *bty*//*hkly*. Images clearly show that there is room to spare at the end of the line for the letter /*y*/.

Line 8: [... bqr]b – Most epigraphic studies see the a partial /*b*/ and complete to *bqrb*.[88] *ʾil* – Some correct to *Dān'ilu*, which is unnecessary and compels a false perception of a certain plotline.[89] *ʾIlu* appears several times later on, and it may be that he is the speaker here, who invites the *Rp'um* to his palace in this myth.

Line 9: y – Only the right half of the letter appears. Most complete to [mrzʿ]y, based on lines 1–4. The next lines (9–12) are restored according to lines 1–4 with a high degree of certainty.[90]

Line 12: ʾi[ln]y[m] – /*ʾi*/ – Most of the letter has survived. The upper tip of the right part of the /y/ is visible.

Line 13: rʾa/n – Some see *rn*.[91] The upper part of the sign could be either /*ʾa*/ or /*n*/ according to the images.

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84 de Moor explains that this is a common epithet of the god *Baʿalu*, and finds hints a myth of resurrection in this text. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 266, note 269; See also Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 41; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 138; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 200.

85 Cf *MLC*, 419; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 46; Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 479; Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 9, and more.

86 For examples see Sivan, *Grammar*, 181–182; Tropper, *Ugaritische Grammatik*, 742.

87 According to Virolleaud, the last /*t*/ of *ṯlṯt* combined with the word divider (vertical wedge) between words creates the appearance of the letter /*m*/ – *ṯlṯm* ("Thirty"). The images show this clearly as well, yet *ṯlṯt* seems more appropriate here. *MLC* completes and translates the lacuna in line 7 as: "[al alba del] tercer día" ("with dawn of the third day"). See *MLC*, 419.

88 Other restorations: [ʾalk bqr]b *hkly* ("I will go amidst my palace"), as *CTA*, 94, note 6; [ʾaʿrb bqr]b *hkly* ("I will enter inside my palace"), as Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 41.

89 Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 267; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 169; KTU suggest this with uncertainty.

90 Also according to KTU 1.22, II, 3–11.

91 See KTU; Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 52; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 46.

KTU 1.21 V / RS 2.[0190] / Vir II Rp B / UT 122 Rev. / *CTA* 21 B

1	[... yṯ]b . *l'arṣ*[...]	[He sit]s on the earth

Line 1: [yṯ]b – The right half of /*b*/ is visible. Virolleaud restored to *yṯb* ("he sits") based on other occurrences of *yṯb . l'arṣ* in other texts which were made by the same scribe.[92]

Comments on KTU 1.21

The condition of the fragment creates difficulties in understanding the text and its context. It can be assumed that *'Ilu* is the one who invites the *Rp'um* to his palace or home. The invitation is repeated in lines 1–4, 9–12 and probably in other places as well. It must be taking place somewhere far from the palace, about a three days' ride, and they are supposed to meet there together. The *Rp'um* might even be referred to as "friends" by their host (*'Ilu*?). In any case, this meeting does not appear to have negative connotations, especially if we consider the possibility that they are invited to a *mrzḥ* for a banquet. Again, there is no way of knowing the place of KTU 1.21 in the sequence of the fragments based on the information that has survived.

KTU 1.22 I/ RS 2.[024] Left column/ Vir III Rp A/ UT 123/ *CTA* 21 B

1	mm(?)xx[...]	[...]
2	*h . hn bnk . h*n[...]	Behold your son/s, behold ...
3	*bn bn . 'aṯrk.*	Grandson/s (in) your sanctuary
3–4	*hn*[.]ǵ[lm.y'uḫ]d(?)/*ydk*	Behold, the lad [holds?] your hand
	ṣǵr . tnšq . šptk .	The youth will kiss your lips
4–5	*ṯm*/ *ṯkm . bm ṯkm .*	There, shoulder to shoulder
5–6	*'aḫm . qym . 'il*/ *blsmt .*	The brothers, *'Ilu*'s assistants
6	*ṯm . y'bš . šm . 'il . mtm*	There ... The name of *'Ilu*, the mortal heroes
7	*y'bš . brkn . šm . 'il . ǵzrm*	... blessing him, The name of *'Ilu*, the heroes
8	*ṯm . ṯmq . rp'u . b'l .*	There, *Ṯmq*, the *Rp'u* of *Ba'alu*
8–9	*mhr b'l*/ *wmhr . 'nt .*	Warrior of *Ba'alu* and warrior of *'Anatu*
9–10	*ṯm . yḥpn . ḫyl*/y	There, *Yḥpn* the fighter
	zbl . mlk . 'lmy .	The prince, king of eternity
10–11	*km . tdd* / *'nt . ṣd .*	As *'Anatu* goes to hunt
	štr . 'pt . šmm	Drives the birds away skywards
12	*ṭbḫ . 'alpm . 'ap . ṣ'in .*	They slaughtered oxen and even sheep

92 Cf KTU 1.5, VI, 13–14; KTU 1.10, I, 9.

12–13	*šql . ṯrm /wmrʾi ʾilm .*	They felled bulls and fatted rams
	ʿglm . dt . šnt	Year old calves
14	*ʾimr . qmṣ . llʾim .*	lambs, pile of suckling (lambs)
14–15	*kksp/ lʿbrm . zt .*	The olive was like silver to the guests
	ḫrṣ . lʿbrm . kš	The date(?) was like gold to the guests
16	*dpr . ṯlḫn . bqʿl .*	Fruit of the vine is on the table
16–17	*bqʿl/ mlkm .*	Fruit of the vine for kings
	hn . ym .	There, all day long
	yṣq . yn . ṯmk	They poured wine of *Ṯmk*
18	*mrṯ . yn . srnm .*	Must, wine of *Srnm*
18–19	*yn . bld/ ǵll*	Wine of … (?)
	yn . ʾišryt . ʿnq .	Wine of joy …(?)
19–20	*smd/ lbnn ṭṣ* {ṭl} .	The flowering vines of Lebanon, the dew
	mrṯ . yḫrṯ . ʾil	The must, nurtured by *ʾIlu*
21	*hn . ym . wṯn .*	There, a day and a second
21–22	*tlḫm . rpʾum/ tštyn .*	The *Rpʾum* eat and drink
	ṯlṯ . rbʿ . ym .	A third and a fourth day
22–23	*ḫmš/ ṯdṯ . ym .*	A fifth and a sixth day
23–24	*tlḫmn . rp*ʿum/ *tštyn .*	The *Rpʾum* eat and drink
24	*bt . ʾikl . bprʿ*	(in the) banquet hall on the summit
25–26	bṣq . *bʾirt . lbnn .*	… In the heart of Lebanon
	mk . bšbʿ/ [bymm]	Behold, on the seventh day
	[… ap]nk . *ʾalʾiyn . bʿl*	There, the powerful *Baʿalu*
27	[…]x . *rʿh . ʾa*by[…]	… His friends …?
28	[…]xx[…]	[…]

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Line 1: mm(?) – Three or four lower tips of letters are visible, but it is difficult to say more. Most see one or two /*m*/.[93]

Line 2: *h* – Belongs to the unknown word which ended line 1. *h*n x – The lower part of the /*n*/ is visible, and another lower tip. *bnk* – Most translate as "your son" (*binika*), but some as "your sons" (*banīka*), since it is not possible to distinguish the pl. from the sing. here.[94]

93 KTU restore to šmrn.

94 See Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 148. Some complete the line to [aṯrk yḏmr] based on KTU 1.17, I, 28–30. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 271; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171.

Line 3–4: *bn bn . aṯrk* – Most read as "your grandson" but some as "your grandchildren."[95] Dijkstra sees this as a part of a blessing given to the childless *Dān'ilu* by the *Rp'um* who visit him, that he may leave sons and grandsons after him.[96] Yet, when reading the following lines, we can only see references to the *Rp'um*, and it seems more likely that *they* are the son/s and grandson/s in these lines.[97] The speaker might be the narrator or one of the *Rp'um*, who addresses *'Ilu* or another god. *hn*[...]d/n – The tablet breaks at this point, but the letters /*hn*/ are clear. KTU see the bottom of the letters /ǵz/ and complete to *ǵzr* ("hero"). Virolleaud sees the letter /ʿ/ before the lacuna and completes to *hn . ʿ*[nt . tʿuḫ]*d*.[98] The images do show the bottom of the letter /*ǵ*/ and maybe a hint of a vertical wedge which follows. It is also possible to restore the word *ǵlm* ("lad") here, which is close to the word *ṣǵr* ("youth") in line 4 and creates a known word-pair, *ǵlm*//*ṣǵr*, in the bicolon.[99] The last sign is composed of two or three horizontal wedges which may be /*d*/ but also /*n*/.[100] The scene that is described in the bicolon in lines 3–4 is that of a young hero who holds someone's hand and kisses him, but we cannot be certain who the lad is and who exactly is being kissed.[101] It seems that this entire text depicts a scene of coronation, and the new king, one of the *Rp'um*, is being blessed by the host, *'Ilu*.[102]

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95 See *DUL*, 223; *MLC*, 422. Some translate *aṯrk* as "shrine" or "sanctuary" following Virolleaud; See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 320; Others translate as "after you." See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 473.

96 See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 46–47.

97 For the word-pair "sons"//"grandsons," see Prov 17:6.

98 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 16.

99 See KTU 1.9:17–18, which also puts *ǵlm* before *ṣǵr*; Wyatt also suggests this word-pair in KTU 1.9. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 154, note 10.

100 Pitard sees /*r*/. See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 56.

101 L'Heureux sees this as an image of family intimacy, and a boy who shows affection to his father. He compares this with a family scene from the Gilgamesh epic, depicted by *Siduri*, in which a child holds his father's hand. See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 154; The scene appears in the Sippar tablet, III, 10–13. For translation and discussion of the fragment and its connection to the Gilgamesh story, see Abusch, T., "Gilgamesh's Request and Siduri's Denial. Part 1: The Meaning of the Dialogue and Its Implications for the History of the Epic," in Cohen, M. E., Snell, D. C. and Weisberg D. B. (eds.), *The Tablet and the Scroll: Near Eastern Studies in Honor of William W. Hallo* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), pp. 1–14; George, A., *The Epic of Gilgamesh, A New Translation* (London: Penguin Books, 2000), pp. 122–126; Millard, A. R., "Gilgamesh X: A New Fragment," *Iraq* 26 (1964), pp. 99–105; This sign of affection also appears in Biblical text, when Absalom, the "king-to-be" meets his subjects: "And if a man approached to bow to him, he would extend his hand and take hold of him and kiss him" (2 Sam 15:5).

102 Cf KTU 1.108, discussed below.

Line 5: *qym* – The word appears only once in Ugaritic according to *CUW*.[103] It is probably the *nomen regens* of the construct *qym ʾil*. Virolleaud sees *qym* as the plural of *qwy* and compares it to Biblical literature (קוי יהוה).[104] *DUL* see it as qatta/il pattern of Q-M and interpret as "assistants" of *ʾIlu*.[105] Some see *qym* in the meaning of "to stand up" or "rise up."[106] Since there is no comparison in other texts, the context leans towards "assistants" but this cannot be stated with certainty.

Line 6–7: *blsmt* – Another word that appears only once in Ugaritic, usually translated as "haste; alacrity; hurry" by Akkadian *lasāmu* ("to run fast"; "to serve as a runner"),[107] and also by other variations of L-S-M in Ugaritic with a close meaning.[108] L'Heureux translates *bl* as a negative word, and *smt* as "stigma" and reads "unblemished stalwarts."[109] Dijkstra separated *bls* and *mt* ("death") and translates as "reapers of death."[110] Considering the context and other uses of L-S-M in Ugaritic, "in haste" seems to fit best to the semantic field of the concept of qualities of warriors.[111]

yʿbš – The verbs in the bicolon in lines 6–7 have caused much difficulty since the letter /ʿ/ in the verb in line 6 is oddly shaped, somewhat like the letter /ṯ/. Earlier studies suggest that /ṯ/ is correct.[112] Both letters are highly distinguished in other places in this tablet and others by the same scribe, and there is no doubt that *yʿbš* is the correct form in both lines. This is also based on Pitard's study, who did not leave any room for doubt.[113] Unfortunately, even

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103 According to *CUW* it may also appear in KTU 1.17, VI, 7, but the /*q*/ cannot be determined by images, and the tablet is broken at this point.

104 Cf Ps 37:9.

105 See *DUL*, 710; So do Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 474; *MLC*, 422; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 320; Dijkstra translates as "guardians" and sees every plural form here (*ʾaḫm*, *mtm*, *ǵzrm*) as dual forms, since in his point of view this text involves two minor twin deities. See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 47.

106 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 271; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171.

107 See CAD 9, 104–106.

108 Cf *tlsmn* (KTU 1.3, III, 19); *lsmm* (KTU 1.6, VI, 21); *mlsm* (KTU 1.162, 22).

109 See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 155.

110 Dijkstra explains the etymology by Hebrew B-L-S, using Am 7:14. See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 47.

111 Virolleaud suggests, cautiously, connecting the "baca trees" in the Biblical Valley of Rephaim (2 Sam 5:22–24; using the etymology of Hebrew *bośem*, but this was not accepted by others in the early stages of research. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 19.

112 L'Heureux made the assumption that this text was read to the scribe. See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 155; Also, *CTA* and UT.

113 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 57; Pitrad, W. T., "The Shape of the Ayin in the Ugaritic Script," *JNES* 51 (1992), pp. 261–279.

after the correct form has been established, the meaning of ʿ-B-Š is unclear, and some leave it untranslated.[114]

mtm//*ǵzrm* – Most translate to "mortals" (heroes)//"heroes". This word-pair has already been discussed regarding KTU 1.20, I, 3, and again, we meet the strong heroes who probably come to appeal to *ʾIlu*, and there is no reason to believe that *mtm* should be interpreted as "the dead."[115] There is not a single element that involves death in this tablet, only elements of joy, celebration and life.

Line 8: *ṯmq* – Probably a Personal or a deity's name.[116] *DUL* see it as a lesser deity related to the *Rpʾum* which is likely considering the context.[117] Other suggestions see it as a verb, connected with "rising up."[118] *rpʾu . bʿl* – An epithet of *Ṯmq*, the *Rpʾu* of *Baʿalu*.[119] It is clear that the *Rpʾum* are not an ambiguous general group. They have names and titles, such as *Dānʾilu*, *Ṯmq* and more. The title: *Rpʾu* of *Baʿalu* presents the importance of *Ṯmq*, being the *rpʾu*, divine hero of one of the main gods. The concept is parallel to *mhr bʿl* and *mhr ʿnt* (lines 8–9) and creates a short tricolon: "*Rpʾu* of *Baʿalu* // Warrior of *Baʿalu* // and warrior of *ʿAnatu*."[120] This indicates that a *rpʾu* is a mighty and divine mortal, who is close to the gods and is in their service. Some translate the *nomen regens rpʾu* as pl.: "*Rpʾum* of Baʿalu."[121] Some also read *mhr* as pl. form.[122]

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114 See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 474; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 203. *DUL* suggest "to extol, praise (?)." See *DUL*, 142.

115 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 148.

116 A similar name appears on several administrative texts, which supports the idea that this word represents someone. Cf KTU 4.93, IV, 4; KTU 4.106, 20; KTU 4.122, 7; KTU 4.226, 10; KTU 4.65, 2; KTU 4.658, 7; See also *UDB*, 1523.

117 See *DUL*, 904.

118 Some explain the etymology by the similarity to Arabic *samaqa* ("to be high"). See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 146–147; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171; For other suggestions, see Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182 (169).

119 See *MLC*, 423; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 44; Some see *rpʾu* as a title of a god: *Baʿalu* the *rpʾu*. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171; Others see *rpʾu* here as "healer" or "saviour" of *Baʿalu*, but there isn't enough information to believe the *Baʿalu* needs any remedy or cure nor is he curing someone else at this point of the myth.

120 See examples for "Internal Parallelism" in Watson, W. G. E., "Internal Parallelism in Ugaritic Verse," *SEL* 1 (1984), pp 53–67; The Goddess *ʿAnatu* shows another affiliation with a warrior named *Yṭpn mhr* ("*Yṭpn* the warrior") in the legend of *Aqhatu*, Cf KTU 1.18, IV, 6 and 27.

121 See Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 203; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 148.

122 As de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Pope, "Rephaim," 167, and more.

Line 9: *yḥpn* – Based on line 8, this word should be translated as a Personal or a deity's name as well.[123] Virolleaud suggests it is a verb in the 3rd person and some scholars concurred in different ways, yet every suggestion overcomplicates the scene.[124] *ḫyl*/y – The letter /*y*/ appears in the beginning of line 10, before a word divider which shows that the word was separated between the lines. DUL translates *ḫyly* as "fighter, powerful, strong."[125] This fits the semantic field of the literary unit (*ǵzr*//*mt*//*mhr*//*rp'u*) which describes the *Rp'um*. Some see the /*y*/ at the beginning of line 10 as the word *ḫḫ* ("mire, rubbish dump, filth") since the appearance of /*y*/ and /*ḫḫ*/ is similar in Ugaritic texts.[126]

Line 10: *ʿllmy* – ("eternal"). The concept of eternal kingship is repeated in two texts which mention the *Rp'um*.[127] This is no coincidence. The basis of the *Rp'um* myth lies in divine mortals in the monarchy, leaders of men in the service of the gods.[128]

Line 11: *ʿnt . ṣd* – Gods in the Ugaritic myth may be portrayed as hunters.[129] *tštr* – N-T-R (Š stem), suggests that *ʿAnatu* causes something else to fly as she leaves, namely, the birds (*ʿpt*).[130]

Lines 12–14: The feast begins. *ʾalpm*//*ṣ'in* (oxen//sheep), a known word-pair from Biblical literature.[131] *šql* – Q-L ("to fall", Š stem). *ʿglm . dt . šnt* ("year old calves") – The sacrifice of year-old calves and lambs is also known from Biblical literature.[132] *qmṣ* – "heap, pile."[133] This entire scene is repeated almost identically in the *Baʿalu* myth, when the god is preparing for the divine celebration after his palace has been built.[134]

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123 Cf *DUL*, 947; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 44; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 321; *MLC*, 423; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 47.

124 Virolleaud suggests it either derives from Hebrew חפנ ("to take a handful), חפפ ("to surround) or חפה ("to cover"). See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 22.

125 See *DUL*, 376.

126 This interpretation attempts to connect the unholy filth of some ritual of the dead with this scene. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 171.

127 See KTU 1.108, 1; KTU 1.161, 7 and 24. Cf KTU 1.2, IV, 10.

128 Cf de Moor, who translates *ʿllmy* as "usurper" based on reading it as two words: *ʿll* ("child") and *my* ("who") as "the child of no one." See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272.

129 Cf KTU 1.5, VI, 25–26; KTU 1.6, II, 15; KTU 1.12, I, 34 and maybe KTU 1.114, 1–2. There were attempts to see the goddess *ʿAnatu* specifically affiliated with hunting and animals. See Day, P. L., "Anat: Ugarit's 'Mistress of Animals,'" *JNES* 51 (1992), pp. 181–190.

130 Pope sees *tštr* as "propels herself." See Pope, "Rephaim," 167. *ʿAnatu* is known to be winged and a flying goddess. See KTU 1.10, II, 10–12.

131 Cf Deut 7:13; 28:4.

132 Cf Lev 23:18–19; Num 28:19; Mic 6:6.

133 See *DUL*, 693. Cf Lev 2:2; 5:12.

134 Cf KTU 1.4, VI, 40–43; maybe also KTU 1.1, IV, 30–32.

Lines 14–15: The parallelism in lines 14–15 is clear: *kksp l'brm zt // ḫrṣ l'brm kš* ("The olive was like silver to the guests // The date(?) was like gold to the guests"). The first common word-pair is: *ksp//ḫrṣ* ("silver"//"gold). The /*k*/ before *ksp* is a preposition that indicates a simile ("like"), and by the structure of the bicolon it belongs to the parallel word *ḫrṣ* as well. *l'brm* – The only word which does not have a parallel in the bicolon, and placed in the middle of it. *DUL* translate as "passer-by"<"guest," which fits well in the scene of a lavish feast, where much fine food and wine is being served, as fine and expensive as silver and gold.[135] *zt//kš* ("olive"//"date"?) – It is almost certain that these words are synonyms, and so *kš* should also be considered as a fruit or a vegetable. Virolleaud suggests reading it as "pollen" of palm trees by Arabic comparison and most translate as "date."[136]

Line 16: *dpr* – A word with uncertain interpretation which gained varied translations. Virolleaud suggests "to cover" by context or "perfume" by Arabic comparison.[137] *DUL* translate the verb D-P-R: "to exude a strong smell."[138] Other translations see *pr* ("fruit") separately, which is the most logical translation after the mentioning of olives and dates in previous lines.[139] *bq'l* – Most translate by Arabic comparison (*qu'al*) to "vine blossom" or "fruit of the vine," which seems correct in its context of drinking wine.[140]

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135 See *DUL*, 142; Cf other close translations: "Passers-by," Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; "Travelers," Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 204; Some see these guests as ghosts of the dead who come from the underworld, and cross a river between the world of the living and the world of the dead. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 175, and also Pope, "Rephaim," 173; Yet, this has no base but the fixed opinion of which the *Rp'um* are linked with the concept of death. Wyatt identifies the *'brm* as "vagabonds," suggesting closeness to the *Ḫabiru*: "Heterogeneous groups who appear as mercenaries, raiders, herdsmen." See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 322.

136 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 24; Watson brings a list of Ugaritic words for "dates." See Watson, "Botanical Snapshot of Ugarit," 118; de Moor and Spronk translate as "gourd." See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 112; Pope translates *zt//kš* as "pay// fee." See Pope, "Rephaim," 168; Dijskstra sees a broken word and connects it with /*d*/ in the next line, creating the word *kš/d* (Akkadian *Kašadu*) and translates: "attractive as gold for the passers-by." See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; L'Heureux translates as "rest" by Akkadian (*Kašu*). See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 157.

137 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 25.

138 See *DUL*, 274.

139 Pardee sees /*d*/ as /*'u*/ and translate the same. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 45; Spronk sees /*d*/ as a pronoun. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 172; Smith sees *pr* as "calf." See Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 149.

140 As Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 25, and others followed: *DUL*, 681; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 153; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 322; Others translate as "hall," See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 172; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; Pope translates as "fig cake". See Pope, "Rephaim," 168.

Line 17: *ṯmk* – DUL translate as a mythical place famous for its wine.[141] Pardee agrees and concludes other words in this textual unit represent toponyms which are known for the best wine (*srnm*; *ǵll*; *ʾišryt*; *ʿnq*; *smd*).[142] Others separate *ṯmk* to *ṯm* ("there") and the preposition /*k*/, moving it down to line 18 and connecting it with the first word (*k* + *mrṯ*).[143]

Line 18: *mrṯ* – Most translate as "must" or "fresh wine."[144] *srnm* – The horizontal wedges of the letter /*n*/ are faded and it looks like a single long wedge. Virolleaud translates it using Biblical literature as "Commanders of the Philistines," by Hebrew סרנים.[145] Some reject this interpretation, seeing *srnm* as a toponym.[146] There isn't sufficient evidence in Ugaritic to support the first view. *bld* – A difficult word. Virolleaud translates as "county" and some agree.[147] Others translate as "sweet."[148] DUL cautiously suggest "goblet."[149] Each of these interpretations could fit in this context.

Line 19: *ǵll* – A difficult word. DUL offer two meanings in the context of this text: 1) "thirsty," based on Arabic *ǵalīl*; 2) "intoxication," based on Arabic *ǵawl*.[150] Others translate as "glean," based on Aramaic *ʿll*.[151] *ǵll* might also appear as a part of a word-pair in another mythic text *ǵllm*//*aklm* ("the thirsty ones"(?)//"the eaters") but the translation is uncertain.[152] *ʾišryt* – Most translate as "happiness" or "ecstasy," but this isn't certain.[153] *ʿnq* – A word with unclear

141 See DUL, 901.

142 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 57.

143 See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 153; Smith, *Poetic heroes*, 149.

144 Other opinions: Dijkstra reads as "estate." See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; Pardee sees it as a toponym. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 57.

145 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 26.

146 See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 476.

147 So did Pardee, "Rephaïm," 45, based on Arab *balada*.

148 Based on Arabic *laḏiḏa* ("tasty"). See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 476; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 204; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 153.

149 Based on Akkadian *luṭṭu*/*luttu*, see DUL, 219–220.

150 See DUL, 315; de Moor chooses the second translation and reads *bld ǵll* as "with no after thirst." See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272.

151 See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 149.

152 Cf KTU 1.12, II, 34–35.

153 The translation is based on context and Hebrew *ʾošer*, since there isn't much material to compare it to, but KTU 1.18, I, 28 (m*t ʾišryt* – "a happy man"?); Maybe also KTU 1.45, 1: *yn ʾiš*[ryt]? See DUL, 115; de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 149; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 323. Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner translate as "first vintage" based on Akkadian *Šurrû* ("to begin"). See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 476; Pardee suggests it is a toponym. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 57.

meaning which was mostly understood by Biblical references as 1) necklace;[154] 2) large size, with the connotation of "height," or a metaphor for "the best."[155] It appears only once in Ugaritic, so either meaning might fit. *smd* – Another word that appears only once in Ugaritic with many interpretations. Although the etymology varies, some connect it with flowers, blossom or plants.[156] The combination *smd lbnn* may be interpreted as "the flowering vines of Lebanon." de Moor compares it with Biblical literature: "… They shall blossom like the vine; His scent shall be like the wine of Lebanon" (Hos 14:8).[157]

Line 20: *ṭṣ* – There is a consensus of seeing the letter /*ṣ*/ as a scribal error, reading /*l*/ instead (*ṭl* – "dew").[158] y*ḥrṭ* – Ḥ-R-Ṭ: "to plow, cultivate, farm a land".

Lines 20–24: This unit demonstrates the literary formula of "the seventh day," which is commonly found in texts written by the scribe *ʾIlimilku*, and can also be found in other places.[159] This formula is used to depict a process which lasts for six days, minimizing the repetition of each day by combining days in groups of two, three, four or six. The process seizes on the seventh day, which is the climax of the unit. In this case, the feast of the *Rpʾum* lasts for six days, while they drink wine and eat. *tlḥm* (line 21) – Possibly a scribal error of *tlḥmn* ("They will eat"). At the end of line 23 a partially erased horizontal wedge appears, which resembles the letter /*t*/, and was probably meant to be a part of the next word (*tštyn*), that was eventually written in the next line because there was not sufficient space. *bprʿ* (line 24) – Usually translated either as 1) "summit," "lofty," "high";[160] 2) "first fruit," "excellent," "choice."[161]

154 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 49. Pope suggests "the neck?" See Pope, "Rephaim," 168.

155 See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 323; Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 476; Pardee sees it as a toponym as well.

156 Virolleaud compares it with Akkadian *samīdu* and a certain pollen of a flower. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 27; Cf *samīdu* in CAD 15, 114, 116; Aistleitner translates by Arabic *samada* ("to be high"). See Aistleitner, *Die mythologischen*, 86; Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner translate as "plants," based on Akkadian *asmidu*. See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 476; DUL suggest "necklace of pearl beads from the Lebanon." See DUL, 751; Pardee sees *smd* as a toponym. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 57.

157 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 272.

158 The scribe probably forgot to add a single vertical wedge. See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 60.

159 Cf KTU 1.4, VI, 24–35; KTU 1.14, III, 2–5; KTU 1.17, I, 5–16; Cf Loewenstamm, S. E., "The Seven Day-Unit in Ugaritic Epic Literature," *IEJ* 15 (1965), pp. 121–133; Cf in Biblical literature: Gen 1–2:4; Josh 6:2–5; 1 Kgs 18:43–44.

160 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 273; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 204; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 45; Pope, "Rephaim," 168); Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 149); Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 323.

161 See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 477; D Dijkstra and de Moor, "Problematical Passages," 182.

The etymology fits either option.[162] If we consider the context, after the description of a place (*bt ʾikl* – "banquet hall") and the location (Mount Lebanon), the first translation seems more appropriate.

Line 25: bṣ*q* – A difficult word. Virolleaud tentatively suggested *yṣq* ("to pour"), since the first letters are somewhat worn, and some scholars concur.[163] High resolution images support the reading of bṣ*q* with high probability. Dijkstra corrects bṣ*q* . *b* to *byqb* (Hebrew יקב, "in the winery"), yet the word divider after the /*q*/ is quite clear.[164] Some translate by Hebrew (צוק, *ṣwq*), as "crest," "peak."[165] *DUL* cautiously suggest the verb "to sprout."[166] *bʾirt* – Virolleaud translates as "wells" by Hebrew etymology (באר).[167] Most see /*b*/ as a preposition, and *ʾirt* as "heart" or "central" by Akkadian (*irtu*).[168] *mk* – a word with obscure etymology. By context it is translated as a presentation particle as "there," "behold."[169]

Line 26: The tablet is broken at the beginning of the line, and the first seven signs are hard to interpret. KTU see parts of the letters and read: [b]ymm . apn*k* . *ʾalʾiyn* . *bʿl*. This is very likely and fits familiar literary formulas.[170] The images support this suggestion from certain angles, although Pitard does not see anything conclusive before the letter /*k*/.[171] The right part of the letter /*n*/ is visible, and fits the restoration of the temporal adverb *apnk* ("there," "then"). *ʾalʾiyn* – An adjective used mostly to describe the god *Baʿalu* with inconclusive etymology, mostly translated as "powerful" or "strong."[172]

Line 27: *rʿh* – The section to the left of the word divider is illegible. *rʿh* – "His friends."[173] *ʾa*by[...] – There are some unclear wedges to the lower left of the letter /*ʾa*/. KTU see it as a word divider. The upper parts of the letters /*by*/ is visible. To the right of the letter /*y*/ appears what seems to be a broken angular

162 Cf *DUL*, 668.

163 See *CTA*; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 153; Pope, "Rephaim," 168; Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 28.

164 See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 50.

165 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 273; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 172; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 323.

166 "First fruit that sprouts...." See *DUL*, 239.

167 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 29.

168 See Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 50; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 153; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 204; *DUL* suggest "breasts; slopes." See *DUL*, 106.

169 Cf Sivan, *Grammar*, 186; It always appears before the seventh day in the seven-day formula made by *ʾIlimilku*. Cf KTU 1.4, VI, 31–32; KTU 1.14, III, 3–4; KTU 1.17, I, 15.

170 Pardee reconstructs the missing letters in his facsimile in a very clear way. See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 27.

171 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 60–61; So do *CTA*. UT suggests /*k*/ or /*r*/.

172 See *DUL*, 51.

173 Cf KTU 1.21, II, 6.

piece that might have been a part of another letter. KTU restore it to /*n*/, but this cannot be supported by the images.[174]

Line 28: /xx/ – The top of two or three letters appear. KTU restore to *ṣʿ*. Pitard is not certain of reading /ʿ/ and explains that it may be a broken chip.[175]

KTU 1.22 II / RS 2.[024] right column / Vir III Rp B / UT 124 / *CTA* 21 A

1	xr . *ṯ*[...]	[...]
2	*b . hkly* . [...]	To my palace ...
3	*lk bty* . r[p'im]	Go to my house, *R*[p'um]
3–4	[bbty . *'aṣḥ*]/*km*.	[To my house I will call] for you
	*'iq*r[*'*akm . *'*ilnym . bhkly]	I will summon [you to my palace, divine ones]
5	*'aṯrh* . r[p'um . ltdd .]	To the sanctuary, *R*[*p'um*, hurry]
5–6	[*'*aṯrh]/ltdd . *'*il[nym]	[To the sanctuary], hurry, divine[ones]
6–7	[*ṯ*m . *ṯ*mq]/ *mhr* . *bʿl*	[There, *Ṯmq* ,] Warrior of *Baʿalu*
7–8	[rp'u . bʿl . mhr]/ ʿnt .	[The *Rp'u* of *Baʿalu*, warrior] of *ʿAnatu*
	lk b[ty . rp'um]	Go to my ho[use, *Rp'um*]
8–9	[bbty]/*'aṣḥ* . *km*	[To my house] I will call for you
9–10	[*'*iqr*'*akm . *'*ilnym . b]/*hkly*.	[I will summon you to] my palace, [divine ones]
10	*'aṯ*r[h . rp 'um . ltdd]	[To the] sanctuary, [Rp'um, hurry]
11	*'aṯrh* . *lt*[dd . *'*ilnym]	To the sanctuary, hu[rry, divine ones]
12	*yḥpn* . *ḫy*[ly ...]	*Yḥpn* the fig[hter ...]
13–14	*šmʿ* . *'atm* . [rp'um]	Listen, you, [*Rp'um*]
	[xxx . xxx . *'*iln]/*ym* .	[... divine] ones
14	*lm* . *qd*x[...]	[...]
15	šmn . *prs*x[...]	Oil ...(?)
16	*ydr* . *hm* . *y*x[...]	Make a vow(?)...
17	*ʿṣ* . *'amr* .	... lamb (?)
	y'u[*ḏ*d . lks*'*a . mlk]	He se[izes the chair of kingship]
18	*nḏt* . *kḥṭ* . *d*r[kt ...]	The seat, The throne of dom[inion ...]
19	[bbty] *'aṣḥ* . *rp'i*m [.]	[To my house] I will call for the *Rp'i*m

174 *CTA*; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 45; Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 60–61; UT – All do not see the letter /*n*/ as well. Some restore the word *abyn* in line 27 and find resemblance to the description of the hero *Dān'ilu* in KTU 1.17, I, 16–18, and reconstruct the text as if it revolves around *Dān'ilu* and his need for a son. Yet, all evidence shows that the scene focuses on other subjects entirely, and it is not necessary to make both plotlines connect; the legend of *Aqhatu* and KTU 1.20–1.22. Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 273; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 50; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 172.

175 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 64.

19–20	[ʾiqra . ʾilnym]/ *bqrb* . h[kly]	[I will summon the divine ones] amidst my pa[lace]
20–21	[ʾaṯrh . rpʾum . l]/*tdd*.	[To the sanctuary, Rpʾum,] hurry
21	*ʾaṯr*h[. ltdd . ʾilnym]	To the sanctuary[, hurry, divine ones]
22	ʾa*sr* . *m*r[kbtm …]	They yoked [the chariots]
23	*tʿln* . *lm*r[kbthm .]	They mounted their ch[ariots]
23–24	[tʾity . ʿl]/ *ʿrḫm* . *t*l[kn . ym . wṯn]	[They came on their] donkeys They we[nt for a day, and a second]
24–25	[aḫr . špšm]/ *bṯlṯ*	[After sunrise,] on the third
25	mǵ[y . rpʾum . lgrnt]	[The *Rpʾum* a]rrive [to the threshing-floors]
26	ʾi[ln]y[m . lmṭʿt …]	The d[ivine]o[nes to the plantations]

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Line 1: Only the bottom of a few letters appears. xr . ṯl – The first letter is illegible. Virolleaud restores the letter /*w*/ and KTU the letter /*q*/.[176] The bottom of the first visible letter clearly indicates that it is the letter /*r*/. Next, we can see the bottom of some vertical wedges, which may be consistent with the letters /*ṯl*/, as some restore.[177]

Line 2: *b* . *hkly* . […] – "In my palace …" – The fracture begins after the word divider. There have been several attempts to restore this textual unit, mostly by using KTU 1.21, II, 6–9. These attempts are problematic, which also use the possible appearance of /*ṯl*/ in the previous line to reconstruct it to: [b]ṯl[ṯt . ʾamǵy . lbt … bqr]*b* . *hkly* . [wyʿn . il].[178] The letter /*r*/ is the only one in line 1 which can be partially identified, and there is also uncertainty regarding the appearance of /*ṯl*/, so caution would be advisable here.

Line 3–6a: These lines repeat the formula which appears in KTU 1.21, II, 1–4; 9–12, and appears twice in this column.

Lines 6b–8a: The appearance of *mhr* . *bʿl* ("warrior/s of *Baʿalu*") after the lacuna in line 6, and the name of the goddess *ʿAnatu* after the lacuna in line 7, show similarity to KTU 1.22, I, 8–9: *ṯm* . *ṯmq* . *rpʾu* . *bʿl* . *mhr bʿl*/ *wmhr* . *ʿnt* ("There, *Ṯmq*, the *Rpʾu* of *Baʿalu*, Warrior of *Baʿalu* and warrior of *ʿAnatu*") and the lines are restored accordingly with some uncertainty. It is also possible that this part

176 Virolleaud sees it as the first letter, although it is clear from the images that the space on its left is wide enough for one more letter. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 12.

177 As KTU; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 47; Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 53.

178 For various attempts see de Moor, *Anthology*, 269; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 41; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 201; Smith, *Poetic Heroes*, 151; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 176; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 319.

is addressed to somebody else, and can be read as the pl. form: "Warriors of *Baʿalu* and warriors of *ʿAnatu*."[179]

Lines 8b–11: Once again, the restoration lies in the repeated formula of the invitation which appears earlier in lines 3–6a and other places. The only minor difference is found in line 9 in the word *ʾaṣḥ . km*, where the suffix is separated by a word divider, which is common in Ugaritic texts.[180]

Line 12: The name of *Yḥpn* also appears in the previous column in this tablet (KTU 1.22, I, 9–10), and some restore the lacuna here according to that text: *yḥpn . ḫy*[ly . *zbl . mlk . ʿlmy*].[181] The restoration of *ḫy*[ly] here is certain in my view, but the rest is not. As in the previous column, *Yḥpn* appears after *Ṯmq*, so we can see that the two characters are connected in some way.

Line 13: Virolleaud restores the lacuna using KTU 1.4, V, 59–60: *šmʿ . lʾaliyn . bʿl*/ *bn . lrkb . ʿrpt* ("Listen, O, mighty *Baʿalu*/ Understand, O, cloud-rider"). He also uses the letters *ym* in the beginning of line 14 to complete the parallel: *šmʿ . ʾatm* . [lrpʾum . bn . lʾiln]*ym* ("Listen, you, [O, *Rpʾum*, understand, O, divine-]ones").[182] This makes sense, but is not certain.

Line 14: *lm* – Maybe should be translated as "why." *qdx*[...] – The /x/ stands for a broken horizontal wedge which can be part of several letters, such as /*q*/, /*t*/ or /*m*/. Virolleaud restores as *qdq*[d] ("head") in the context of the god *Baʿalu*. KTU reads *qdt*. Pitard suggests that *qd*[ḫ] is also a possibility.[183] It is difficult to say more without context and epigraphic evidence.[184]

Line 15: š*mn* – "Oil" or "Fat."[185] *prs*x[...] – The /x/ stands for a broken horizontal wedge. KTU read *prsǵ*. Again, there is not enough evidence to suggest a reasonable restoration.[186]

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179 For various restorations see de Moor, *Anthology*, 272; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 41; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 149; Lewis, "The Rapiuma," 201; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 46; Smith, *Poetic Heroes* 151; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 176; Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 12.

180 Cf Sivan, *Grammar*, 53–54.

181 Cf *CTA*; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 42; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 47; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 146; Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 12.

182 See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 14; Others agree with this restoration; cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 270); Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim," 41; *MLC*, 421. L'Heureux replaces *bn* with *tdʿ*. See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 144.

183 See Pitard, "KTU 1.20–22," 56.

184 Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 270: "why do you bow down?".

185 Cf *DUL*, 815–816. According to Virolleaud this oil is poured as a part of a ceremony. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 14; Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 270; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 176.

186 The option of *prs* – "a weight measure", which appears in the pl. form in a single tablet is not very likely by context. Cf *prsm* – KTU 4.710, 4; 5; 7.

Line 16: *ydr* – "Make a vow"(?). *y*x[...] – The /x/ stands for a broken tip of a horizontal wedge. Virolleaud sees *ym* and restores to *ym*[lk] ("he will reign"). KTU, *CTA* and UT also see /*m*/. The images do not support this with certainty.

Line 17: *ṣ* – ("tree"?). Virolleaud reads *ʿl* ("over"), because of the fact that there is no word divider between this word and the next (*ʾamr*). The images show that the word divider is present, and detached from the letter /*ṣ*/, so it is difficult to interpret the /*ṣ*/+word divider as the letter /*l*/. It is possible that this is a scribal error, but nothing can be certain here. *ʾamr* – ("lamb"?) The word also appears in KTU 1.20, I, 10, which was discussed above.[187] *y'u*[ḫd ...] – There is almost a consensus regarding this restoration. Some see a partial /*ḫ*/ and some don't. The images do show a shadow of a vertical wedge to the right of the letter /*ʾu*/ which supports this restoration.

Line 18: *nḫt* – The letter /*ḫ*/ seems to be composed of two vertical wedges instead of three, which is obviously a scribal error. The formula in line 18 (*nḫt . kḥṯ . d*r[kt ...]) shares similarities with other texts made by the same scribe, for example: *yṯb . lksʾi . mlk*/ *lnḫt . lkḥṯ . drkt* (regarding king *Kirta*, KTU 1.16, VI, 23–24; "He sits on the chair of kingship/ On the seat, on the throne of dominion"). Or: *gršh . lksʾi . mlkh*/ *lnḫt . lkḥṯ . drkth* (regarding *Baʿalu*, KTU 1.3, IV, 2–3; "Banish(ed) him from the chair of his kingship/ From the seat, From the throne of his dominion.").[188] *kḥṯ* – (//*ksʾu* "chair, throne"), probably a loan word, understood by its parallel synonym.[189] The lacuna in line 17 is restored by this formula as well, and shows the recognition of someone's kingship, probably *Yḥpn*, who was already recognized as a king in the previous column (lines 9–10). Again, it seems that this scene depicts a coronation feast.

Lines 19–21: The restoration follows *CTA*'s suggestion based on repeated formulas.[190]

Line 22: ʾas*r . m*r[kbtm ...] – Some complete the restoration using KTU 1.20, II, 2–3, but this is not certain.[191]

Lines 23b–26: Despite some broken and worn places, there is enough text to compare with the formula in KTU 1.20, II, 4–7, and to restore both texts.

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187 Some translate as "Amurru" in different context. Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 270: "if [my son Aqhatu becomes ki]ng over Amurru"; Dijkstra, "Danel and the Rephaim": "the scepter of Amurru"; Virolleaud suggests it is *Baʿalu* who will reign over the Amurru. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 14; There is not enough evidence to suggest that the word "Amurro" appears here, and not much connects this text to the *Aqhatu* legend.

188 Cf KTU 1.6, V, 5–6.

189 See Watson, W. G. E., "Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon (6)," *UF* 38 (2006), pp. 717–728.

190 Virolleaud restores a bit differently based on KTU 1.20, II, 1–3: [ṯmn .]/bq*rb . ḥ*[kly]. See Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 15.

191 Cf Pardee Pardee, "Rephaïm," 47; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 177; Virolleaud, "Rephaïm," 15.

KTU 1.22 IV, RS 2.[024] (rev.?)

The other face of this fragment is illegible. Only a few letters survived, which most studies do not include.

1	x[...]	...
2	b[...]	...
3	x[...]	...
4	p?[...]	...
5	b?[...]	...
6	x[...]	...

Epigraphic and philological notes:

The only letter that is probable in my view is /*b*/ in line 2. KTU sees /*l*/ in line 1, /*s*/ in line 3 and /*b*t/ in line 4. Pitard only sees the letter /*b*/ in lines 2 and 5 and Pardee sees /*b*/ only in line 5.[192]

Comments on KTU 1.22 and Summary of KTU 1.20–1.22

KTU 1.22 is the largest fragment of the three, yet its condition leaves us with more questions than answers. It consists of some of the formulas found in KTU 1.20–1.21, and holds some new information. The number of rare words and obscurity in the text opens the door to various interpretations and speculations that, in most cases, cannot be wholly accepted nor denied. We cannot determine the place of KTU 1.22 among other fragments or to distinguish between the obverse and the reverse side of the fragment.

We cannot tell what the purpose of this entire myth was or its "sitz im leben." Nevertheless, it is possible to gather together the clues in all fragments and make some general observations: 1) the *Rp'um* are a group, probably of seven or eight people. We are introduced to the names of some of them, like *Dān'ilu* the hero; 2) the invitation of the *Rp'um* is repeated in all three fragments. Who invites them, and for what purpose? This remains uncertain. Because of the extravagance of the feast and because the *Rp'um* were important beings, it can be a god, one of them, or another important individual. I believe it is *Ilu*, for his specific appearances and general connection with the *Rp'um*, as explained below (§2.7); 3) the feast motif is repeated several times as well. The scribe dedicates space to specify the animals that are butchered, the wine that is served and other dishes. The feast seems to be the celebration of an event, maybe even more than one; 4) several times, the scribe uses a textual formula which is found the cycle of *Baʿalu*, in the context of the god's coronation and establishment of a kingship (KTU 1.22, I, 12–14; II, 17–18). This

192 See Pardee, "Rephaïm," 49; Pardee, "Rephaïm," 64.

internal interpretation must be premeditated, and it shows that a coronation is taking place here, probably of a person who is accepted and loved as the god *Baʿalu*; 5) who is this king? The only candidates here are *Yḥpn* or *Ṯmq*. The second is recognized as one of the *Rpʾum*. It seems that the *Rpʾum* are gathered for the coronation of one of their own. The gathering of the *Rpʾum* for a member of them, specifically a king, is demonstrated in other texts as well (KTU 1.161, 1.108, the Story of *Kirta*, all are discussed below). The *Rpʾum* are considered as brothers, standing shoulder to shoulder for one another; 6) the gods are an integral part of this myth. They have close interaction with the *Rpʾum*. *Baʿalu*, *ʿAnatu* and *ʿIlu*, the strongest gods in the pantheon are mentioned more than once. It may be that the gods are the guests of the *Rpʾum*, the *Rpʾum* are their guests or maybe even both, if we consider several events of festivity; 7) besides being brothers, there is a strong indication of family relationship in KTU 1.22, I, 1–6, with the mentioning of son/s and grandson/s, with a context to the gods. In KTU 1.16, I, 9–11 and 17–23, King *Kirta*, one of the *Rpʾum* (§2.5) is being referred to as a son of *ʾIlu* and a member of the God's family. If we add to this equation the common epithets of the *Rpʾum*; *ʾilnym* ("divine ones"), *mtm* ("mortal heroes") and *ʾilm* ("gods"), it is suggested that the *Rpʾum* are the mortal members of the family of the gods, the demigod kings and leaders (as *Dānʾilu* the known judge) who work in their service, but not "gods" as the main deities. This fact has several additional proofs in the next texts; 8) the *Rpʾum* are warriors, and ride battle chariots; 9) finally, it is challenging to pinpoint the position of the character of *Dānʾilu* in this plotline. Any attempt to see this myth as a direct part of the Legend of *Aqhatu* is speculative, since besides the mentioning of *Dānʾilu*, there is no connection to the storyline of KTU 1.17–1.19. As I mentioned regarding KTU 1.20, II, 7–8, and KTU 1.20–1.22 as a whole, if the *Rpʾum* are together as a group in this myth, it is even more probable that *Dānʾilu*, a member of the *Rpʾum*, is riding along with them. *Dānʾilu* in this myth seems to be the younger version of the protagonist in the legend of *Aqhatu*.

2.3 The Legend of *Aqhatu*

The mention of *Dānʾilu* man of *Rpʾi* in KTU 1.20, leads this discussion to one of the most well-known stories in Ugaritic literature that was also written by the scribe *ʾIlimilku*. Although the *Rpʾum* are not mentioned in this legend directly, the character of *Dānʾilu*, as one of them, sheds more light on their identification. The legend of *Aqhatu* consists of three tablets, all found at

the House of the High Priest in Ugarit between the years 1930–31.[193] It was first translated by Virolleaud in 1936, who named the story based on the main protagonist, *Dān'ilu*.[194] Later on, based on a small headline inscription on the top of KTU 1.19 that says: [l]*aq*[h]*t*, the legend was named after *Dān'ilu*'s son, *Aqhatu*.[195]

Many elements of the legend are debatable, while some of the details are accepted by most scholars. Briefly, the legend tells of a well-known and respected character called *Dān'ilu* who longs for a son, and after appealing to the gods, a child is born and named *Aqhatu*.[196] *Dān'ilu* receives a gift from the god of craftsmanship, *Koṯaru* and *Ḫasisu*; a wonderful bow, which is later coveted by the goddess *ʿAnatu*.[197] *Aqhatu* refuses to give her the weapon. This conflict leads to *Aqhatu*'s death; he is killed by *ʿAnatu* and another, named *Yṭpn*. *Dān'ilu* sets off to find his son's remains, and confronts some eagles, until he finds the remains inside one of them. *Dān'ilu* and his house mourn for seven years. Then, after a dialogue between him and his daughter, *Puġatu*, it seems she sets off in order to reap vengeance for her brother's death.

Much content is missing from the story. The first tablet in the sequence is fractured (height: 16 cm, width: 11.5 cm). Two columns survived on both sides of the tablet, but also only partially. The fraction in the side of the tablet

193 KTU 1.17 = *CTA* 17 = RS 2.[004] = UT 2 = AO 17.324 (1930); KTU 1.18 = *CTA* 18 = RS 3.340 = UT 3 = AO 17.325 (1931); KTU 1.19 = *CTA* 19 = RS 3.322 + 3.349 + 3.366 = UT 1 = AO 17.323 (1931); See Bordreuil P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), pp. 26, 30, 31; Schaeffer, C. F. A., Virolleaud, Ch. and Thureau-Dangin, F., *La Deuxième Campagne de Fouilles à Ras-Shamra* (Printemps 1930): Rapport et Études Préliminaires (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1931).

194 See Virolleaud, Ch., *La Légende Phénicienne de Danil: Texte Cunéiforme Alphabétique avec Transcription et Commentaire* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936).

195 This phenomenon also exists in tablets KTU 1.14; 1.16 (*Kirta*) and KTU 1.6 (*Baʿalu*). All of them were made by the same master scribe, *ʾIlimilku*.

196 Some interpretations suggest that *Dān'ilu* is a king, see Ginsberg, H. L., "The North-Canaanite Myth of Anath and Aqhat," *BASOR* 97 (1945), pp. 3–10 (4); Gordon, C. H., *Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts*, (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), pp. 84–85; According to Gibson: "… his manner of life as described in the tablets is much simpler … recalling the atmosphere of the Patriarchal stories of Genesis …," see Gibson, J. C. L., *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2nd Edition, originally edited by G. R. Driver (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004), p. 24.

197 For further reading regarding this bow see Dressler, H. H. P., "Is the Bow of Aqhat a Symbol of Virility?" *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 217–20; Hillers, D. R., "The Bow of Aqhat: The Meaning of a Mythological Theme," in Hoffner, H. A. Jr (ed.), *Essays Presented to Cyrus H. Gordon on the Occasion of his Sixty-fifth Birthday*, AOAT 22 (Neukirchenen-Vluyn: Neukircherner Verlag, 1973), pp. 71–80; Sukenik, Y., "The Composite Bow of the Goddess Anath," *BASOR* 107 (1947), pp. 11–15.

clearly shows that at least one column is missing from both sides (probably columns III and IV). The second tablet in the sequence is badly damaged (height: 11.4 cm, width: 7 cm.). Only one partial column survived on both sides, and only a handful of complete lines. It is difficult to tell the original size of KTU 1.18 and the number of columns it contained. The third tablet in the sequence is in relatively good condition (height: 17.5 cm, width: 11.5 cm). It was originally made with four columns.

The plot focuses on *Dān'ilu*, who is mentioned almost twice more than his son, *Aqhatu*.[198] When the scribe wishes to describe him, he usually uses the formula that also appears in KTU 1.20, II, 7–8. The words *dn'il . mt . rp'i* ("*Dān'ilu* man/hero of *Rp'i*") appear in the first half-line, and in the second one we find: *ǵzr . mt . hrnmy* ("The hero, man of *Hrnmy*").[199] The name *Dān'ilu* is theophoric, composed of the word *dn*, which means "to judge" or "judgment," and the word *'il*, which means "god," or the god *'Ilu*, head of the Ugaritic pantheon.[200] *ǵzr* – is usually interpreted as "hero" or "warrior."[201] *hrnmy* – a difficult word which mainly appears in context of *Dān'ilu* and in no other text. Many believe that *hrnm* is a place name, maybe *Dān'ilu*'s land or town.[202] *Dān'ilu*'s name is also mentioned three times in Biblical literature (Ezek 14:12–20; 28:3), as discussed in Part 3 of this study.

The fact that *Dān'ilu* is described as a hero and one of the *Rp'um* was mentioned above, but the context is different here; Firstly, the *Rp'um* do not have any role in the plotline. Secondly, *Dān'ilu* is a well-known hero in this legend,

198 This supports the suggestion that KTU 1.17–1.19 is only one of the chapters in *Dān'ilu*'s tales that deals with *Aqhatu*, as KTU 1.20 is another chapter.

199 This formula is repeated several times in this legend. Cf KTU 1.17, I, 17–18; I, 36–37; II, 27–29; V, 4–5; KTU 1.19, I, 37–38 and more.

200 Similar to Biblical "Daniel"; Dan 1:6; Ezra 8:2; 1 Chro 3:1 and more.

201 See *DUL*, 329; Cf עזר in Biblical literature: Ezek 32:21; Ps 89:20.

202 Some suggest a different vocalization to this word such as Dijkstra, M., "The Legend of Danel and the Rephaim," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 35–52 (46): "*Harnem*"; Pardee, D., "Nouvelle étude épigraphique et littéraire des textes fragmentaires en langue ougaritique dits « Les Rephaïm » (*CTA* 20–22)," *Orientalia* 80 (2011), pp. 1–65 (48): "*Harnamu*"; Others simply translate as "Harnamite," see de Moor, J. C., *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 269; Parker, S. B., "Aqhat," in Parker, S. B. (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 1997), pp. 49–80 (51), and more. Others have a different view and see *hrnmy* as connected to a deity, see Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 145: "epithet of Daniel's god," or "devotee of the Rainmaker" as Margalit, B., *The Ugaritic Poem of Aqht: Text, Translation, Commentary* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1989), p. 143. For more see Dietich, M. and Loretz, O., "Rāpi'u und Milku aus Ugarit: Neuere historisch-geographische Thesen zu rpu mlk 'lm (KTU 1.108:1) und mt rpi (KTU 1.17 I 1)," *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 123–131 (127–129). Cf KTU 1.19, IV, 23–25: *yš'ly . dǵṯ*(?) *. bšmym*// *dǵṯ hrnmy* [. bk]bkbm ("He sends offerings to the sky/ offering of *Hrnmy* to the [st]ars").

but he does not perform any heroic acts. The first part of the legend tells the heartbreaking tale of a childless person who begs for the gods to give him a son. He does not travel or ride on chariots; he does not go to battle or hunting with a fantastic bow like his son, *Aqhatu*, who also wins the title *ǵzr* (hero).[203] *Dān'ilu* is a wise and compassionate judge who sits in front of the gate and judges the weaker section of society; the widows and the orphans.[204] He is beloved by the gods who confer with him, visit him, eat at his table, give him a gift and listen to his requests.[205] I believe this story shows a mature *Dān'ilu*, the aged hero, after settling down from his heroic acts and adventures with the *Rp'um*. There are some elements in the story which support this interpretation:

1) *Dān'ilu* is childless and wishes for a son. This means he tried and failed to have children. We know of his wife, *Dnty*, but we do not know of any other wives.[206] As the society in Ugarit and other places in that era was polygamous, it is fair to consider that *Dān'ilu* can marry other women, but perhaps chooses not to.[207] If we compare this to Biblical literature we can see that barrenness is a very common motif, used to motivate the character to appeal to God, and this may lead to the birth of an important character.[208] Although barrenness is usually related to the women in the story, it can also be related to the advanced age of the man, or both.[209]

2) *Dān'ilu* is worried about being childless, specifically not having an heir. When would a man be concerned about this the most, if not in the later stages of his life? This is a universal motif, which is also found in other stories. For example, the story of Biblical Abraham who longs for an heir in his old age, expressing his concerns to God.[210] The Roman poet, Ovid, tells of an old farmer

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203 Cf KTU 1.17, VI, 20;26;33 and more.

204 Cf KTU 1.17, V, 4–8. For more on the context of *Dān'ilu* and wisdom, see Greenstein, E. L., "Wisdom in Ugaritic," in R. Hasselbach and N. Pat-El (eds.), *Language and Nature – Papers Presented to John Huehnergard on the Occasion of his 60th Birthday*. Studies in Ancient Oriental Civilization 67 (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2012), pp. 69–90 (73), and the discussion about Ezekiel's Daniel below (§4.5.2).

205 For example, see the visit of the divine *Kṯrt* in his house in KTU 1.17, II, 24–40; The visit of the god *Koṯaru* and *Ḫasisu* in KTU 1.17, V, 10–33. Besides asking for a son, *Dān'ilu* also asks the god *Ba'alu* to kill and revive some eagles which he suspects of devouring *Aqhatu*'s corpse. See KTU 1.19, III.

206 Cf KTU 1.17, V, 16;22;28 and more.

207 See Marsman, H. J., *Women in Ugarit and Israel: Their Social and Religious Position in the Context of the Ancient Near East*. OS 49 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 49–72.

208 As in the case of Rachel (Gen 30:1–25); Samson's mother (Jud 13); Hannah (1 Sam 1) and more.

209 As in the story of Abraham in Gen 18:11–13, or the woman from Shonem in 2 Kgs 4:14.

210 See Gen 15:2; the similarities between the legend of *Aqhatu* and Abraham have attracted much attention, see Avishur, Y., "The Story of the Angels' Visit to Abraham (Gen 18,1–16)

named Hyrieus who receives a divine visit from Jupiter, Neptune and Mercury. He asks them to be a father, and the gods grant his wish.[211] Naturally, the fear of dying childless grows with age.

3) The scribe uses this formula while describing *Dān'ilu*:[212]

d'in . bn . lh/ k*m . aḫh*	Who has no son like his brothers
w . šrš . km . aryh	And an offspring[213] like his fellows[214]

The scribe compares the hero to his brothers//fellows, who already *have* their families. This comparison seems odd at first; unless we consider that the *Rp'um* must be the brothers and fellows here, as indicated in KTU 1.22, I, 4–6. They have their families and have maybe even settled down, like him, in various kingdoms. This adds an element of maturity to his character.

4) In KTU 1.17, VI, the sixth column of the first tablet, *Aqhatu* is already a man, a hunter, who speaks his own mind while confronting the goddess *'Anatu*. This means that many years have gone by in the plotline. He carries with him the fantastic bow, a powerful weapon that his father chooses not to use. Later on, after *Aqhatu*'s death, *Dān'ilu* mourns for seven years.[215] If *Dān'ilu* was not old in the beginning of the story, he is definitely much older at the end of it, allowing his young daughter to avenge her brother's death instead of him. The idea that a daughter must fight her father's fight, portrays him as incompetent.[216]

All of the evidence presented here show that KTU 1.20–1.22 depict the younger *Rp'um*, the warriors, who fight in the service of gods, along with *Dān'ilu*. The legend of *Aqhatu* must have come afterwards, when the hero is older, a judge, who has settled down with his family. *Dān'ilu* is depicted as all

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and its Parallel in Ugaritic Literature (2 Aqhat V,4–31)," *BM* 32 (1986–1987), pp. 168–177; Good, E. M., "Two Notes on Aqhat," *JBL* 77 (1958), pp. 72–74; Xella, P., "L'épisode de Dnil et Kothar (KTU 1.17 [= CTA 17] 5:1–31) et Gen. 18:1–16," *VT* 28 (1978), pp. 483–488; Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "The Alleged Dependence of the Abraham Narratives in Genesis upon the Ugaritic Epic of Aqhat," in Sh. Yona, et. al. (eds.), *Marbeh Ḥokhma: Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East in Loving Memory of Victor Avigdor Hurowitz* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 2015), pp. 151*–160*.

211 See Ovid, *Fasti*, book V, 493–544.

212 Cf KTU 1.17, I, 18–21; II, 14–15.

213 *šrš* in the meaning of an "offspring" exists in Biblical literature as well, see 2 Kgs 19:30; Isa 11:10; 14:29.

214 See *ary* in *DUL*, 108; Tropper, J., *Ugaritische Grammatik*. AOAT 273 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), p. 193.

215 See KTU 1.19, IV, 13–15.

216 See KTU 1.19, IV, 32–40.

Rp'um, a leader, a warrior and a mortal hero, who has a special connection with the gods.

The Connection between the Legend of *Aqhatu* and KTU 1.20–1.22

As mentioned above, Virolleaud saw the fragment KTU 1.20 as the fourth part of the legend of *Aqhatu*, mostly based on the appearance of *Dān'ilu*'s name (KTU 1.20, II, 7–8). His opinion took hold, and others agree that there is some truth to it, creating plotlines to connect the fractured stories together, which mainly focus on the events after *Aqhatu*'s death.[217] There is no doubt that the stories have a junction point with the mention of *Dān'ilu*, but there is no reason to believe that KTU 1.20–1.22 revolve around his character. I do not wish to offer a better plotline to connect the story of the *Rp'um* with the legend of *Aqhatu*, but only to point out that it is reasonable to argue that the *Rp'um*'s plotline comes prior to that of *Aqhatu*'s. Firstly, the literary content: All of the evidence shows that *Dān'ilu* is mature or old, even at the opening of the Legend of *Aqhatu*. His battle days are behind him, and we are missing this heroic part in his life. In KTU 1.20–1.22, The *Rp'um* are champions, in the service of the main gods of the pantheon, strong and vital. They are the warriors of *Baʿalu* and *ʿAnatu*. Furthermore, the fact that *ʿAnatu* was responsible for *Dān'ilu*'s death is ignored in KTU 1.20–1.22. It seems that *Dān'ilu* rides along *with* his brothers on various occasions for different adventures. The storyline of KTU 1.20–1.22 must come prior to KTU 1.17–1.19, but KTU 1.20–1.22 may also present an independent story, which focuses on another member of the *Rp'um*. Secondly, in a recent paper, Yona and I highlight some special epigraphic features which appear in the last tablet of the Legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.19).[218] We focus on the size of the tablet, the writing method and a comment written on the side of the tablet by the scribe, that led us to conclude that this tablet finishes the sequence of KTU 1.17–1.19. We also show how the plotline ends with a closure that describes how *Aqhatu*'s sister, *Puǵatu*, kills her brother's murderer, *Ytpn*, so there was never an intent to create more tablets to continue the plotline by the scribe, and KTU 1.20 is not the fourth tablet in the sequence.[219]

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217 See Caquot, A., Sznycer, M. and Herdner, A., *Textes ougaritiques I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, bibliographie, traduction, notes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), p. 463; de Moor, *Anthology*, 224; Gray, J., *The Legacy of Canaan: the Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the Old Testament*. VTSup 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), pp. 92–93; Margalit, *Aqht*, 5–6; Gordon, *Ugaritic Literature*, 84–85.

218 See Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "Third and Last: Epigraphic Notes on the Ugaritic Tablet KTU 1.19," *JAOS* 136 (2016), pp. 819–827.

219 This also contradicts the opinions of some who believe that there must have been another tablet to complete the storyline of the legend, even if it isn't any of the KTU 1.20–1.22

Conclusion: The tragic story of *Dān'ilu* provides us with limited but important information regarding the *Rp'um*. Using *Dān'ilu* as an example, we can say they are mortal, they age and they breed. This alone contradicts the various perspectives which address them as "the dead" or the "shades of the dead" in this myth and in other texts. The dead do not age, do not fear death or breed. *Dān'ilu* has close relationships with different gods. *Dān'ilu*'s son grows up to be a brave hunter with a fantastic weapon, and later on, his daughter violently avenges her brother's death, which shows that heroism runs in the family and may even suggest that his descendants may be *Rp'um*, just like their father. Without a doubt, *Dān'ilu* is the most famous of the *Rp'um*, and the only one who appears by name in both Biblical and Ugaritic literature (see §4.5.2).

2.4 The *Baʿalu* Cycle (KTU 1.6)

The myth of the god *Baʿalu* is one of the most famous Ugaritic texts. The cycle is composed of six tablets, which were found during the first excavations in Ras-Shamra. Unlike KTU 1.20–1.22 (The *Rp'um*), most scholars agree upon their sequence.[220] The plot of the cycle is usually separated into three parts: 1) *Baʿalu* and his victory over *Yammu*, the god of the sea (KTU 1.1–1.2); 2) the building of the palace for *Baʿalu* on Mount *Ṣaphon* by *Kotharu* and *Ḥasisu* and the feast of the gods (KTU 1.3–1.4); 3) a struggle between the god of death, *Motu*, and *Baʿalu*, in which *Baʿalu* loses, only to return afterwards for one final bout (KTU 1.5–1.6). The tablets were all prepared by the scribe *'Ilimilku*, who signed his name on two of them.[221] The *Rp'um* do not play any active role in the story. They are mentioned only once, at the end of the story, in the sixth and final tablet of the sequel.

Tablet KTU 1.6 (RS 2.[009]+5.155/ I AB/ UT 49:I:1-VI:38 + UT 62:1–28 + UT 62:38–57/ *CTA* 6) consists of two pieces: RS 2.[009], which was found in the 1930 excavation, and RS 5.155, which was found in 1933.[222] Both were found in

fragments. See Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 24; Landy, F., *The Tale of Aqhat*, (London: The Menard Press, 1981), pp. 14–16; Parker, "Aqhat," 49 and N. Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 246–248.

220 See table is del Olmo Lete, G., *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1981), p. 83; Cf also Yogev, J., "How Wide Should a Column be?," *UF* 42 (2011), pp. 847–852.

221 See KTU 1.4, VIII, edge; KTU 1.6, VI, 54–58.

222 See Virolleaud, Ch., "Un Poème Phénicien de Ras-Shamra. La Lutte du Môt, Fils des Dieux, et d'Aleïa, Fils de Baal," *Syria* 12 (1931), pp. 193–224; Virolleaud, Ch., "Fragment nouveau du poème de Môt et d'Aleyn-Baal," *Syria* 15 (1934), pp. 226–243.

the House of the High Priest.[223] The tablet is housed in the Louvre Museum, Paris.[224] It is a large tablet (height: 27 cm; width: 19.5 cm) and consists of three columns on each side. About 40% of text is missing, but the rest is in relatively good condition. The full signature of the scribe *ʾIlimilku* at the bottom of one of the columns (VI, 54–58) leaves no room for doubt about which side is the obverse and which is the reverse. Many scholars have speculated about the puzzling closure of the myth of *Baʿalu*, and why the scribe chose to end it in this manner. Since our main concern is the *Rpʾum*, I shall limit the discussion to the textual unit in which they appear.

KTU 1.6, VI, 45–53

45b–46	*pš/ rpʾim . tḥtk*	*Šapšu*, the *Rpʾum* are under you
47	*špš . tḥtk . ʾilnym*	*Šapšu*, under you are the divine ones
48	*ʿdk . ʾilm .*	Close to you are the gods
48–49a	*hn . mtm/ ʿdk .*	There, the mortals are close to you
49b	*kṯrm . ḫbrk*	*Kotharu* is your companion
50	*wḫss . dʿtk*	And *Ḫasisu* is your acquaintance
51	*bym . ʾarš . wtn*n	On the sea of *ʾArš* and *Tnn*
52	*kṯr . wḫss . yd*	*Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* will expel (them)
53	y*tr . kṯr . wḫss*	*Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* will banish (them)

Lines 45b–49a: The first part of this textual unit focuses on *Šapšu*, the Ugaritic sun goddess. The text is spoken in the 2nd person, and we cannot tell who the speaker is. The first bicolon presents a clear chiastic structure that uses the known word-pair *rpʾim*//*ʾilnym* (*Rpʾim*//"divine ones"). This is the only place in the preserved parts of this myth where the *Rpʾum* are mentioned, not as active participants, but in the context of the solar deity. The Ugaritic sun goddess has attracted much attention in numerous studies, and many have tried to identify her specific role in the culture of Ugarit, besides the basic cosmogonic features of the sun; to spread light, to bring warmth and so on. Several studies create a parallel between the Mesopotamian sun god, Shamash/*Utu* and *Šapšu*. Shamash is an all-seeing god, always watching from above, wise and all-knowing. He is known to be a judge of men and gods,[225] and plays a

223 See Bordreuil P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), pp. 26, 36.

224 Item no. AO 16.636.

225 The famous stele of the code of King Hammurapi depicts Shamash on his chair, presenting the laws of men to the king. See Harper, R. F., *The Code of Hammurabi King of Babylon* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1904), p. xi.

leading role in many legends and myths.[226] He has the power to protect men from enemies, illness, evil ghosts, snakes, monsters and so on. It is said that he rules over the *Anunnakki* and *Igigi*, deities that play various roles in myths.[227] During the night, Shamash crosses the water under the ground, and sheds his light on the Underworld, and so nothing can escape his scrutiny, neither the living, nor the dead.[228]

The idea of a mythic connection between the Ugaritic female solar deity and the Underworld is usually addressed in the interpretation of this text, that sees it as a hymn for Ugaritic *Šapšu* as a ruler or protector of the Underworld and its inhabitants.[229] Virolleaud translates the word-pair *ʾilm*//*mtm* as synonyms ("gods"//"the dead"), when *ʾilm* could also be interpreted as "spirits of the dead."[230] This interpretation sees ghosts as a possible object of worship, that have the ability to influence the world of the living as minor deities.[231]

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226 Cf Bertman, S., *Handbook to Life in Ancient Mesopotamia* (New-York: Infobase Publishing, 2003), pp. 68–69, 126; Bonnet, C., "Le dieu solaire Shamash dans le monde phénico-punique," *SEL* 6 (1989), pp. 97–115; Horowitz, W. J., *Mesopotamian Cosmic Geography* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1998), pp. 103, 311; Lipiński, E., "Shemesh," in *DDD*, pp. 764–768.

227 See the hymns for Shamash in Smith, D., "A Ritual and Incantation-Prayer against Ghost-Induced Illness: Shamash 73," in Lenzi, A. (ed.), *Reading Akkadian Prayers & Hymns: An Introduction* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2011), pp. 197–216; Idem, "A Shuilla: Shamash 1," in idem, 367–384; Idem, "A Namburbi against the Evil of a Snake: Shamash 25," in idem, 421–430.

228 See Lenzi, A., "An Incantation-Prayer: Ghosts of My Family 1," in idem, 367–384.

229 See Gaster, T. H., *Thespis: Ritual, Myth, and Drama in the Ancient Near East*, 2nd Edition, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1961), pp. 227–230; Healey, J. F., "The Sun Deity and the Underworld. Mesopotamia and Ugarit," in Alster, B. (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), pp. 239–242.

230 See Virolleaud, "Fragment nouveau," 238–239; Margalit translates *mtm* as *mt* (the god *Motu* + enclitic /m/). See Margalit, B., *A Matter of >Life< and >Death<: A Study of the Baal-Mot Epic* (*CTA 4–5-6*). AOAT 206 (Neukirchenen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1980), p. 194.

231 Cf Abusch, T., "Etemmu," in *DDD* (1999), pp. 309–319; For the affiliation of "ghosts" as "gods" in Biblical literary, cf 1 Sam 28:13; Isa 19:3. Also interesting to note the *ʾinš ʾilm*, a certain group that receives general offerings in several Ugaritic texts, Cf KTU 1.39 (21–22); KTU 1.105, 12; KTU 1.106, 1–2; KTU 1.132, 14–15; 21; 24 (also restored in other texts as KTU 1.41; KTU 1.46; KTU 1.87 and more). Pardee translates this construct as "the mankind of the gods," a collective entity, referring to the dead, but it is not certain if it refers to royalty, or the entire population. See Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult in Ugarit* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2002), p. 280; del Olmo Lete refers to *ʾinš ʾilm*, *gtrm*, *Rpʾum* as epithets for deified dead. See del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by Watson. W. G. E., *AOAT* 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), pp. 44–46; Loretz uses this term in an attempt to understand the concept of the *Tᵉrāp̄îm*, which is discussed below, see Loretz, O., "Die Teraphim als 'Ahnen-Götter-Figur(in)en' im Lichte der Texte aus Nuzi, Emar und Ugarit," *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 133–178 (164).

In this myth, *Šapšu*'s role is diverse; in KTU 1.6, I, 6–18, *Šapšu* mourns the dying *Baʿalu*, and she descends to the Underworld and lifts him to Mount *Ṣaphon*. This has led some scholars to believe that *Šapšu* has a psychopompos aspect, carrying the living to the world of the dead or the other way around.[232] Tablet KTU 1.161, which is discussed below (§2.6), is usually used in support of this hypothesis.[233] Others claim that most of the mythic and ritualistic texts from Ras-Shamra do not focus on *Šapšu*, which suggests that sun worship was not a central part of the Ugaritic cult and religion.[234] This view stands in contradiction to the surprising number of Ugaritic theophoric names which bear the goddess's name, implying that she did play a central role in Ugaritic society as far as the general population was concerned.[235]

The connection between *Šapšu* and the *Rpʾum* can be explained in various ways; an interpretation that gained popularity translates *tḥtk* (line 46) by Ugaritic Ḥ-T-K: "to rule, subdue or control" (*špš rpʾim tḥtk*: "*Šapšu*, you rule the *Rpʾum*"). This interpretation sees the goddess as superior in some way to the *Rpʾum* and it has been widely accepted.[236] L'Heureux finds a connection between the *Rpʾum*, being chariot riders (KTU 1.20, II, 2–4), and the horses and chariots which are dedicated to the sun in 2 Kgs 23:11.[237] de Moor sees *Šapšu*'s role as the one who needs to return the deified spirits back to the Underworld, after they returned along with *Baʿalu* in his resurrection.[238] In my view, there

232 See Husser, J. M., "Shapash psychopompe et le pseudo hymne au soleil (KTU 1.6 vi 42–53)," *UF* 29 (1997), pp. 227–244; Wyatt, N., *The Archaeology of Myth: Papers on Old Testament Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 56.

233 Also, KTU 1.78, 3–4: *špš tġrh*/ *ršp* ("*Šapšu*, her gate … *Rashpu*?").

234 See Caquot, A., "La divinité solaire ougaritique," *Syria* 36 (1959), pp. 90–101 (100).

235 Cf van Soldt, W. H., "Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit," in Matoïan, V. and Al-Maqdissi, M. (eds.), *Ras Shamra – Ugarit* 24, *Études ougaritiques* IV (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp. 95–108 (105).

236 See Caquot, A., Sznycer, M. and Herdner, A., *Textes ougaritiques I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, bibliographie, traduction, notes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), p. 270; Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., "Schriftliche und mündliche Überlieferung eines "Sonnenhymnus" nach KTU 1.6 VI 42–53," *UF* 12 (1980), pp. 399–400; Gibson, J. C. L., *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2rd Edition, originally edited by G. R. Driver (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004), p. 81; Smith, M. S., "The Baal Cycle", in Parker, S. B. (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 1997), pp. 81–175 (164); Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), pp. 162–163; Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*. 2nd Edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), p. 144.

237 See L'Heureux, C. E., *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Baʿal, and the Repha'im* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 193.

238 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 98–99.

are several points which must be taken into account before we can interpret this puzzling text:

1) It is important to emphasize the previously mentioned fact that this text is written by *ʾIlimilku*, the same scribe of the *Rpʾum* myth (KTU 1.20–1.22) and the Legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.17–1.19). It is difficult to believe that the *Rpʾum* would change their nature in his view from text to text. The *Rpʾum* we see in other myths are living heroes, kings and leaders. It is unlikely that they would be postmortem here, or have any connection with the dead.

2) The god of death, *Motu*, has stopped his battle over *Baʿalu* at the end of the myth (KTU 1.6, VI, 22–31), and order has been restored to the cosmos. *Baʿalu* is back to his position as the god of weather, who brings back life after a long draught caused by his absence (KTU 1.6, IV, 1–14). It is clear that *Baʿalu* has a strong affiliation with life, in contrast with his struggle with death and the ending of the drought.[239] Why would the scribe choose to end the myth with the dead? The ending should be balanced, marking the restoration of order after the war that put the cosmos into chaos has ended.

3) The position of *Šapšu* in the cosmogonic myth among gods and men is very widespread. Besides bringing light to men and gods, she also plays important roles in this myth; She is a mediator in some scenes (KTU 1.2, III, 15–18), she mourns and buries *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.6, I, 6–18), she is responsible for the drought (KTU 1.6, IV, 1–14), she searches for *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.6, IV, 15–20), she convinces *Motu* to end his feud with *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.6, VI, 22–31). If *Šapšu* does have some connection to the Underworld, it is only a minor part of her position in the cosmos, so there is no reason to focus mainly on this part. It seems more logical that a hymn for *Šapšu* should be congratulating the goddess in a more general way, or as the bringer of peace.[240]

4) The word *tḥtk*, which many translate as "to rule," should be read as *tḥt* + *k* "under you." The pattern of x + suffix /*k*/ is repeated six times in lines 45–50 (*tḥtk*; *ʿdk*; *ḥbrk*; *dʿtk*). The phrase "under the sun" is a known idiom in other Semitic languages, as in Akkadian: *zerūšu la išari ina šupal šamaš* ("may his descendants not prosper under the sun").[241] Phoenician:*ʾal y*{k}*n l*{k} *zrʿ bḥym tḥt šm*/*š* ("may a descendant not be established for you amongst the living

239 See *Baʿalu* as a "god of life" in Cassuto, U., "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts", *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 77–86.

240 See the general roles of *Šapšu* in Wikander, O., *Drought, death and the Sun in Ugarit and Ancient Israel: A Philological and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 2014), pp. 19–22.

241 Cf other places in CAD Z, 95; Potts, D. T., *The Archaeology of Elam: Formation and Transformation of an Ancient Iranian State* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), p. 210.

under the sun").[242] Hebrew: *wʾēn kŏl ḥādāš taḥaṯ hašāmęš* ("and there is nothing new under the sun").[243] These examples demonstrate that "under the sun" is a metaphor for "in the world" or "on earth," which refers to the world of the living, not the dead.

5) As noted above, in the myths of the *Rpʾum* and *Aqhatu*, the *Rpʾum* are affiliated with other gods, such as *ʾIlu*, *Baʿalu*, *ʿAnatu*, *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* and more. *Šapšu* is missing from the *Rpʾum* and *Aqhatu*'s myths as well, and the assumption that a single deity rules the *Rpʾum* is not supported by the texts (including KTU 1.161; §2.6). A correct interpretation of the text is further confounded by the synonyms *ʾilm* ("gods") and *mtm* ("mortals, heroes"), which are also used to describe the *Rpʾum*.[244] In my view, designating titles (*rpʾim*//*ʾilnym*//*ʾilm*//*mtm*) for the *Rpʾum*, who are not a main part of this myth at this point serves no clear purpose. The words *ʾilm*//*mtm* should more likely be understood as a merism, putting the gods at one end, mortals at the other, and the *Rpʾum*, the divine mortals and royalty before both, which shows that they have much importance from the scribe's standpoint.[245] The balanced ending returns everyone to their rightful place on earth: 1) *Rpʾum*; 2) gods; 3) men; as order is restored.[246]

Line 49a: *ʿdk* – Virolleaud reads as "your witnesses" although it is more likely to view it as a preposition + suffix /*k*/, which means "close to you, around you," which is close in meaning to *tḥtk* ("under you").[247]

Lines 49b–50: While most of the focus lies in *Šapšu*'s part in the final part of the myth of *Baʿalu*, it is actually another god who completes this myth; *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu*. *kṯrm ḥbrk*//*wḫss dʿtk* – The bicolon separates the god's double name between two half-lines.[248] *ḥbrk*//*dʿtk* – Smith, who sees *Šapšu*'s chthonic position in the myth, translates *ḥbrk*//*dʿtk* by using KTU 1.169, 9–10, in which the god *Ḥoron* casts away *kšpm* (magicians), *ḥbrm* (necromancers?) and *dʿtm* (soothsayers?). He compares this text to Deut 18:10–11: "Let no one be found among you who … a soothsayer, a diviner, a sorcerer, one who casts spells (*wᵉḥoḇer ḥāḇęr*), one who consults ghosts or familiar spirits (*wᵉyidʿonî*),

242 KAI 13:7–8; Cf KAI 14:11–12.

243 Ecc 1:9; Cf Ecc 1:3; 2:11; 2:17 and more.

244 Cf KTU 1.20, I, 3; II, 9; KTU 1.22, I, 6.

245 Maybe as flattery to royalty. The scribe does highlight his affiliation to king *Niqmaddu* II (line 57), who was considered as one of the *Rpʾum*, as all Ugaritic kings (see discussion in KTU 1.161; §2.6).

246 Schmidt does not see the chthonic nature of the *Rpʾum* as well. See Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 84–88.

247 See *DUL*, 852–853.

248 Cf KTU 1.17, V, 11–12; In this case the first part also carries enclitic /*m*/ (*kṯr* + *m*).

or one who inquires of the dead," and so, *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* may appear as a magician, or *Šapšu*'s necromancer.[249] Even though philological evidence may support this hypothesis, I find it hard to accept. *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* is a master craftsman, also known as *dḫrš yd* (KTU 1.17, V, 24–25, "that is skilled with his hands"), and he takes part in major sections of myth; he builds the weapons for *Baʿalu* in his battle with *Yammu* (KTU 1.2, IV 11–12), he makes spectacular gifts for the goddess *Athiratu* to persuade her to give her consent for building a palace for *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.4, I, 23–33), he is the architect of *Baʿalu*'s palace (KTU 1.4, VI, 1–6), and he makes *Aqhatu*'s famous bow and arrows (KTU 1.17, V, 11–13).[250] He has no spellbinding or chthonic nature. The familiar translation of *ḫbrk*//*dʿtk* as "your companion"//"your acquaintance," seems more likely.[251] *dʿt* – Commonly translated as "knowledge" but can also mean "friendship."[252]

Line 50: *bym . ʾarš . wtnn* – A difficult line. Most scholars translate as "in the sea of *ʾArš* and *Tnn*," when *ʾArš* and *Tnn* (dragon) are sea monsters or cosmic deities who have been previously mentioned in the myth.[253]

Lines 52–53: The chiastic structure of the bicolon is clear, creating a parallel between the verbs *yd*//*ytr*. Some translate *yd* as "to expel, banish" (Y-D-Y) and *ytr* as "to escape, leap, banish" (N-T-R).[254] The exact actions of the god are not clear. Virolleaud suggests that the god escapes and leaves the scene, others that *ʾArš* and *Tnn* are the ones that are being cast away here, and some see *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* as a navigator or a traveler, on the road or at sea.[255]

It seems to me that the choice to end the myth with this deity is deliberate. *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* is the one who enables *Baʿalu* to destroy the god of the

249 See Smith, "The Baal Cycle," 164; Smith, M. S., "The Magic of Kothar, the Ugaritic Craftsman God, in KTU 1.6 vi 49–50," *Revue Biblique* 91 (1984), pp. 377–380.

250 See Pardee, D., "Koshar," in *DDD*, pp. 490–491.

251 Cf *ḫbr* as companion is KTU 1.23, 76. The word *ḫbr* is also mentioned in context with the *Kotharu* in KTU 1.108, 5: *bḫbr . kṯr .ṭbm* ("with the good companion of *Kotharu*").

252 See *DUL*, 257.

253 Cf KTU 1.3, III, 40; 1.3, III, 43. Cf also Biblical literature: Isa 27:1; Ps 91:13; Job 7:12; For more of the cosmic battle against the sea, see Ayali-Darshan, N., *Treading on the Back of the Sea: The Combat between the Storm-god and the Sea in Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2016); Day, J., *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Kloos, C., *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Starr, O. M., "A Search for the Identity of Yamm 'Prince Sea,' of the Canaanite Baal and Anath Cycle," *Folklore* 84 (1973), pp. 224–237; Smith translates this line as "on the day of desire and Tunnan," seeing *ym* as "day" and *ʾarš* as a noun derived from ʾ-R-Š ("to ask, to request"). See Smith, "The Baal Cycle," 164 and176, note 207.

254 See *DUL*, 643 and 944.

255 See accordingly: Virolleaud, "Fragment nouveau," 240; Second opinion: de Moor, *Anthology*, 199; Gibson, *Canaanite Myths*, 81, Smith, "The Baal Cycle," 164; Third opinion: Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 270; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 145.

sea, *Yammu*, and helps him gain his position. The myth ends with the return of balance to the cosmos, for men and gods under the sun, but also with a warning; that if something happens again, *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* is prepared to do what is necessary to put the world back to order. Furthermore, even if this interpretation is speculative, it is clear that the general view of *Šapšu* and *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu* is positive, and so, I would like to suggest that this might be a double hymn, which also glorifies *Kotharu*; *ʾIlimilku* is a master-scribe, who is dedicated to creating aesthetic tablets and improving his workmanship from one tablet to another. It is not farfetched to conclude that the last word in this masterpiece text is a compliment to the god of craftsmanship, from a mortal craftsman.[256]

In conclusion, although the *Rpʾum* only appear once in this text, and are not active characters, they are still important enough to be mentioned at the end of the myth, once the cycle is over. The solar deity, *Šapšu*, might possess some psychopompos qualities in general, but it is not her main function in this myth, and even if it is, there is no evidence to suggest that the *Rpʾum* are chthonic beings, nor ruled by *Šapšu*. It is a general passage that can be interpreted as a sort of hymn to *Šapšu*, as the one who stops the struggle between *Baʿalu* and *Motu*, and also to *Kotharu* and *Ḫasisu*, the one who helps *Baʿalu* to defeat *Yammu*, both balancing deities, who manage to achieve peace through their actions.

2.5 The Story King *Kirta* (KTU 1.15)

The Story of King *Kirta* is the fourth text which mentions the *Rpʾum* that was also produced by the Ugaritic scribe *ʾIlimilku*.[257] The story is spread over three tablets; KTU 1.14–1.15–1.16, all found in fragments in the House of the High priest in the Acropolis in 1930–1931, and are now located at the National Museum of Aleppo.[258] The first translations were published by Virolleaud between the

256 For more of *ʾIlimilku* as a master scribe see Pardee, D., "RS 5.229: Restitution d'une Nouvelle Signature du Scribe Ṯab'ilu," in C. Roche-Hawley and R. Hawley (eds.), *Scribes et érudits dans l'orbite de Babylone* (Paris: Editions de Boccard, 2012), pp. 31–52 (49); Wyatt, N., "The Evidence of the Colophons in the Assessment of Ilimilku's Scribal and Authorial Role," *UF* 46 (2015), pp. 399–446; Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "A Trainee and a Skilled Ugaritic Scribe – KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.4," *ANES* 50 (2013), pp. 237–242.

257 His signature appears on KTU 1.16, VI, edge.

258 See Bordreuil, P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), pp. 26, 30–31; KTU 1.14 = *CTA* 14 = RS 3.414 = RS 3.344 = RS 3.324 = RS 2.[003] = UT Krt = M 8218, 1930; KTU 1.15 = *CTA* 15 = RS 3.345 = RS 3.343 = UT 128 = M 8227, 1931; KTU 1.16 = *CTA* 16 = RS 3.408 = RS 3.342 = RS 3.325 = UT 127 = UT 126 = UT 125 = M 3392, 1931.

years 1936–1942.[259] The tablets were all created with three columns on each side, and much content is missing. The story has attracted much scholarly attention over the years since it combines aspects of myth and history.[260] Although the plotline is fragmentary, we are able to understand some topics clearly. The story focuses on a king named *Kirta* who rules the kingdom of *Ḫbr*.[261] He loses his wives in various ways and worries about having an heir. After a vision of *ʾIlu*, the main deity in the pantheon, *Kirta* realizes he needs to go to the kingdom of *ʾUdm* with his army in order to take *Ḥry*, daughter of king *Pbl*, as his wife. *Kirta* does so, and vows for the goddess *Athiratu* to ensure his victory. *Ḥry* eventually leaves with *Kirta*. He gives a large feast to which the gods are also invited. Time goes by, and children are born to *Kirta*. Later on, *Kirta* falls ill and his son, *Yṣb*, is supposed to take his father's place. Other children, named *ʾIlḥu* and *Ṯtmnt* are expressing their sorrow and concern regarding their father's condition. We learn that the kingdom suffers from a heavy drought. *ʾIlu* wishes to save *Kirta* and addresses the gods for assistance, but ends up saving *Kirta* by himself. *Yṣb*, believing he can replace his father, confronts *Kirta* and receives harsh words, while *Kirta* returns to his throne.

259 See Virolleaud, Ch., *La Ligende de Keret, Roi des sidoniens* (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1936); Idem, "Le roi Kéret et son fils (II K). Poème de Ras Shamra," *Syria* 22 (1941), pp. 105–136; Idem, "Le roi Kéret et son fils," *Syria* 22 (1941), pp. 197–217; Idem, "Le roi Kéret et son fils (II K)," *Syria* 23 (1942), pp. 1–20; Idem, "Le mariage du roi Kéret (III K). Poème de Ras-Shamra", *Syria* 23 (1942), pp. 137–172. Virolleaud published KTU 1.15 as the third tablet in the sequence (III K) and KTU 1.16 as the second (II K).

260 For only a fraction of important studies of this story, see Caquot, A., Sznycer M. and Herdner, A., *Textes ougaritiques I: Mythes et légendes, introduction, bibliographie, traduction, notes* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1974), pp. 481–536; Gaster, T. H., "The Canaanite Epic of Keret", *JQR* 37 (1947), pp. 285–93; Gibson, J. C. L., *Canaanite Myths and Legends*. 2rd Edition, originally edited by G. R. Driver (London/New York: T&T Clark, 2004), pp. 82–102; Ginsberg, H. L., *The Legend of King Keret: A Canaanite Epic of the Bronze Age*, BASOR Sup 2/3 (1946), pp. 1–50; Gordon, C. H., *Ugaritic Literature: A Comprehensive Translation of the Poetic and Prose Texts*, (Rome: Pontificium Institutum Biblicum, 1949), pp. 66–83; Gray, J., "Canaanite Kingship in Theory and Practice," *VT* 2 (1952), pp. 193–220; Gray, J., *The Krt Text in the Literature of Ras Shamra*. DMOA 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1955); Greenstein, E. L., "Kirta," in Parker, S. B. (ed.), *Ugaritic Narrative Poetry* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 1997), pp. 9–48; del Olmo Lete, G., *Mitos y Leyendas de Canaan* (Madrid: Institución San Jerónimo, 1981), pp. 239–326; de Moor, J. C., *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), pp. 191–223; Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*. 2nd Edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 176–243.

261 Original vocalization unknown. The popular vocalization "*Kirta*" is borrowed from a dynastic seal inscription from Mitanni which indicates the name of king *Šuttarna*, son of *Kirta*, See Wilhelm, G., *The Hurrians*. Translated by Barnes, J. (Warminster: Aris and Phillips, 1989), p. 114, fig 14.

The views of this story have changed considerably over the years. Some scholars try to integrate Biblical history and references into the story while others reject these attempts entirely.[262] Some put aside the historic information in the story and focus mainly on the mythic, symbolic and literary aspects of the plotline.[263] Historically, the story raises many difficulties, since the Ugaritic kingdom is not mentioned in the text, and the only places whose identification is agreed upon are Tyre and Sidon, which places some of the events in the Syria-Lebanon area. Some date the story to the late third millennium BCE (circa 2100 BCE), based on the reference to the name *Dtn*, which is discussed below. Others place *Kirta* in the middle of the second millennium BCE, identifying him with the ancestor of the Mitanni dynasty, and suggesting that he has a non-Semitic origin.[264] Despite the difference of opinions, it is reasonable to assume that a long myth which displays a hero-king, written by a scribe who indicates his own affiliation with the current king (*Niqmaddu*, KTU 1.6, VI, 57), could have been written in order to connect the two houses in some way, and not only as a fictional proverb with some educational meaning.

The *Rp'um* do not take an active part in the story, and they appear only twice (one clear appearance and a second which is restored) in the second tablet in the sequence: KTU 1.15 (height: 14.5 cm; width: 17 cm), that is badly damaged. In this point of the plotline *Kirta* has wed princess *Ḥry* and he is blessed by the gods with many offspring who will continue his dynasty.

KTU 1.15, III, 2–15

2	[m'id . rm . k]*rt*	[Be greatly exalted, Kir]*ta*
3	[btk . rp'i .'a]rṣ	[Amongst the *Rp'um* of the l]and
4	[bpḫr .]*q*bṣ *.dtn*	[In the assembly of] the group of *Dtn*
5	[wt]qrb . *wld*	[And she conc]eives and gives birth

262 See Albright, W. F., "Was the Patriarch Terah a Canaanite Moon-God?," *BASOR* 71 (1938), pp. 35–40; Gordon, C. H., "TRḪ, ṮN, and NKR in the Ras Shamra Tablets," *JBL* 57 (1938), pp. 407–410; Ginsberg, *Keret*, 6–7; Gray, "Krt," 2–3.

263 See Engnell, I., *Studies in Divine Kingship* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1943), p. 149; Mowinckel, S., *Die Erkenntnis Gottes bei den alttestamentlichen Propheten*. Norsk Teologisk Tidsskrift 42 (Oslo: Grøndahl & Søns, 1941), pp. 129–158; Parker, S. B., "The Historical Composition of Krt and the House of El," *ZAW* 89 (1977), pp. 161–175. See also Wyatt's response to Parker, in Wyatt, N., "A Suggested Historical Context for the Keret Story," *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 316–318.

264 See the table in Wilhelm, G., *Grundzüge der Geschichte und Kultur der Hurriter* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1982), pp. 140–141, who places *Kirta* around 1460 BCE, but also claims that it is impossible to identify the Ugaritic king as the father of *Šuttarna* king of Mitanni. Also, Cf Gray, J., *The Legacy of Canaan: the Ras Shamra Texts and their Relevance to the Old Testament*. VTSup 5 (Leiden: Brill, 1957), p. 15; Greenstein, "Kirta," 9.

6	bn . *tlk*[265]	to daughters for you
7	*tld* . *pǵt* . x[...]t[266]	She gives birth to the girl[...]
8	*tld* . pǵ[t ...][267]	She gives birth to the gir[l ...]
9	*tld* . pǵ[t ...]	She gives birth to the gi[rl ...]
10	*tld* . p[ǵt ...]	She gives birth to the gi[rl ...]
11	*tld* . p[ǵt ...]	She gives birth to the gi[rl ...]
12	*tld* . p[ǵt ...][268]	She gives birth to the gi[rl ...]
13	*m'id* .*r*m . [krt]	Be greatly exalted[, Kirta]
14	*btk* . *rp'i* ʾa[rṣ]	Amongst the *Rp'um* of the l[and]
15	*bpḫr* . *qbṣ* . *d*tn	In the assembly of the group of *Dtn*

Epigraphic and philological notes:

The clay is extremely worn on the right side of the column. Fortunately, lines 13–15 repeat lines 2–4 and the lacunas in both parts can be restored by this repetition with a high level of assurance. This textual unit also presents the late poetic writing style of *ʾIlimilku*, dedicating each half-line a line of its own, and thus creating a visual aspect to the anaphoric structure in lines 7–12.[269] It seems that the repetition of lines 2–4 and 13–15 creates an envelope figure (inclusio) for lines 5–12.[270]

m'id . *rm* (lines 2, 13) – "Be greatly exalted." The speaker could be the narrator, praising *Kirta*'s place amongst *rp'i ʾarṣ* ("*Rp'um* of the land"). The expression *rp'i ʾarṣ* appears in two other texts which are discussed below; KTU 1.161 (lines 2, 9) and KTU 1.108 (lines 23–24, restored). The Ugaritic word *ʾarṣ* is usually interpreted as "earth, land, world" but can also be interpreted as "the underworld" in certain contexts, and accordingly, some translate the phrase as "deified ancestors in the underworld."[271] At this point in the text, there is no need to see the *Rp'um* as dead ancestors. *Kirta* is blessed with life as many

265 A scribal error, the word-divider should come after the letter /*t*/.

266 KTU see *t*p[xx]*t*; *CTA* see *t*[...]*t*.

267 KTU see *t*[...]r.

268 Greenstein restores the name of *Kirta*'s youngest daughter *Ṯtmnt* in the lacuna. See Greenstein, "Kirta," 26; Wyatt's raises a discussion regarding *Kirta*'s children. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 211, n. 155.

269 See Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "Visual Poetry in KTU 1.2," *UF* 46 (2015), pp. 447–453; idem, "Visual Poetry in the Ugaritic Tablet KTU 1.4," *JANES* 33 (2018), pp. 203–210.

270 For more of this literary device see Watson, W. G. E., *Classical Hebrew Poetry, A Guide to its Techniques*. JSOT Sup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984), pp. 282–286.

271 For *ʾarṣ* see *DUL*, 102–104; Cf KTU 1.4, VIII, 8–9; KTU 1.5, V, 16; See also Greenstein, "Kirta," 25; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 189; Wyatt translates the phrase to "Saviors of the Underworld." See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 201.

children have been born to continue his bloodline. *Kirta* is greatly exalted amongst the *rp'i 'arṣ*, which means that he also belongs to the *Rp'um*, the leaders and kings of men, like *Dān'ilu*, the ancestor kings in KTU 1.161, the king in KTU 1.22, KTU 1.108 and more. As suggested above, the *Rp'um* are demigod mortals, but their human side is greatly emphasized, as it is in this story; *Kirta* worries about his progeny, just like *Dān'ilu*, who wishes for an heir, and being compared to his brothers and fellows. *Kirta* is blessed with seven or eight sons (KTU 1.15, II, 23–25), many more than *Dān'ilu*.[272] He also falls ill, and needs divine intervention to return to health. On the other hand, he has a divine nature; After *Kirta* falls ill, his son addresses him, shocked at the concept that his father might die (KTU 1.16, I, 17–23):

17–18	*'ap . 'ab . kmtm / tmtn* ...	As all mortals will you die, father?
20–21	'i*km .yrgm . bn . 'il / krt*	How *Kirta* is called the son of *'Ilu*?
21–22	*špḫ . lṭpn*[273] / *wqdš*	A descendant of the kind-one and the holy one?
	'u'ilm tmtn	And gods, do they die?
23	*špḫ . lṭpn . lyḥ*	A descendant of the kind-one will not live?

The epithets of *Kirta* ("son of *'Ilu*," "descendant of the kind-one and the holy one") given to him by his son and the narrator (lines 9–11), reveal that he is considered to be more than a simple mortal. Parker summarizes this enigma: "If *Kirta* is divine, then gods are not immortal. If the gods are immortal, then *Kirta* cannot be divine."[274] Yet, this text reveals what the divine nature of *Kirta* and the *Rp'um* really is. The divinity of the *Rp'um* as *'ilnym* ("divine ones") and *'ilm* ("gods") is not expressed by their being godlike and immortal, but by being the mortal offspring to *'Ilu*, or maybe other gods as well. *Kirta* is called the "holy one" (*qdš*) and even addressed as one of the gods (line 22). Like all the other *Rp'um, Kirta* also has a strong connection with the gods, and he is in the service of *'Ilu*. When *Kirta* sees *'Ilu* in his vision, it is said (KTU 1.14, III, 48–49): *wld . špḫ . lkrt*/ *wģlm . lʿbd .'il* ("And will give birth of a descendant for *Kirta*/ and a lad to serve *'Ilu*"). The heir of *Kirta* is to be a servant of *'Ilu*, just like his father, and the word *špḫ* appears here as well as in KTU 1.16, I, 21–23, suggesting the divinity of the king's bloodline. As seen before in *'Ilimilku*'s texts, the *Rp'um* are a group

272 *Kirta*, like *Dān'ilu*, is also described as a judge of the lower parts of society, cf KTU 1.16, VI, 33–34; 48–50.

273 An epithet of *'Ilu*, cf KTU 1.6, III, 14; KTU 1.18, I, 15.

274 See Parker, "Krt," 174.

of known heroes in key positions on earth. When *Kirta* is finally granted his wish, he is exalted among them, having many children. The *rp'i 'arṣ* here (and in KTU 1.108 and KTU 1.161) should be understood as living *Rp'um* who still walk the earth.[275]

bpḫr . qbṣ . dtn – pḫr ("assembly, family") and *qbṣ* ("clan, family, group") are both used to describe *dtn*, a name that has been given many interpretations. The search for the meaning of the name *dtn* has led many on an interesting quest to find it, or variations of it, in textual sources outside and inside of Ugarit in order to determine the historical or mythic origin of *Kirta* and Ugarit. At first, it was interpreted as the name of a city where the *Rp'um* gathered together.[276] Later, the name was connected to a known tribal name with a possible West-Semitic origin that appears in several places and has some affiliation with the Amorites, or maybe an independent tribe that was at the same rank as the Amurru.[277] Astour recognizes *Ditānu* as a tribe from Old Babylonian period, and finds some other variations of this name (such as *Tidanum* and *Tidnum*) claiming that the story of *Kirta* is pre-Mitannian, a heroic story from one part of the Amorite world which could have been adopted by other parts.[278] Lipiński expanded the list of variations of *Ditānu*/*Didānu* from various texts (such as *Ditana*; *Ditan*; *Tidanim*), identifying this name only as a tribal name, and not a personal name. He interprets the word *Ditānu* as some sort of antelope, or an animal which represents strength. In his view *qbṣ dtn* are dead members of the *Ditānu* tribe.[279] In any case, most evidence suggests that the *Rp'um* are not a tribe or an ethnic group, as discussed below.

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275 Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner see *rp'i 'arṣ* as "healers of the land." See Caquot, Sznycer and Herdner, *Textes ougaritiques I*, 539–540; Ginsberg translates the phrase as "community of the earth"; See Ginsberg, *Keret*, 23. Heltzer links *rp'i 'arṣ*, and the *Rabba'um*, a tribe attested to in texts from Mari. See Heltzer, M., "The Rabba'um in Mari and the RPI(M) in Ugarit," *OLP* 9 (1978), pp. 5–20; Margalit, B., "The Legend of Keret," *HUS*, pp. 203–233 (219, note 22); Schmidt also sees *rp'i 'arṣ* as living members of the group. See Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), 80–81; Virolleaud compares *rp'i 'arṣ* to *hmlt arṣ*//*bn nšm* ("the people on earth," KTU 1.6, II, 18–19). See Virolleaud, "Mariage du roi Kéret," 151.

276 See Ginsberg, *Keret*, 41; Virolleaud, "Mariage du roi Kéret," 151.

277 See the variations *Didnum*; *Dadanam*; *Didanim* in Buccellati, G., *The Amorites of the Ur III Period* (Naples: Istituto Orientale Di Napoli, 1966), pp. 243–244, 333; According to Margalit, "Like Abraham, *Ditanu* is 'the father of many [Amorite] nations." See Margalit, *HUS*, 219, note 22.

278 See Astour, M. C., "A North Mesopotamian Locale of the Keret Epic?," *UF* 5 (1972), pp. 29–39 (39).

279 Cf Lipiński, E., "Ditanu," in Avishur, Y. and Blau, J. (eds.), *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his Seventieth Birthday*,

The most contemporary theories see *Ditānu/Didānu* as an important patriarchal ancestor and even the "founder of the dynasty of Ugarit."[280] A reason for this is the appearance of the name *Ditānu*/*Didānu* in two genealogy lists from Assyria; the Khorsabad king list (AKL-A) and the SDAS king list (AKL-B). The first group of kings in these lists is composed of seventeen names, all of which lack an origin or a father's name. At the end of the section, it is said that these kings were tent dwellers, probably nomad rulers of tribes in the geographic area of what is now Syria.[281] The name *Didānu* appears in the middle of this group, but no further information is given about his character.[282] The genealogy of the *Hammurapi* dynasty (GHD) that appears in text BM 80328, includes a list of Babylonian kings who preceded king *Ammiṣaduqa* from the mid-17th century BCE. This text depicts the rites of the *kispum*, in which the *eṭemmū*, the spirits of the dead, are being honored by calling their names, and being served food and drink, mostly by members of the family.[283] The name *Ditānu* is sixth in that list, yet we do not have much more information regarding his origin.[284]

Vol 1 (Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House, 1978), pp. 91–110 (92–93, 100–102, 109–110).

280 See *DUL*, 280.

281 See Gelb, I. J., "Two Assyrian King Lists," *JNES* 13 (1954), pp. 209–230 (223); Grayson, A. K., *Assyrian Royal Inscriptions: From the beginning to Ashur-resha-ishi I* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 1972), p. 1; Poebel, A., "The Assyrian King List from Khorsabad," *JNES* 1 (1942), pp. 247–306 (251–252).

282 He appears ninth in the Khorsabad king list and eighth in the SDAS king list.

283 See Finkelstein, J. J., "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 95–118 (115); According to Schmidt, the living are those who are invited to eat. See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, p. 74; For more on *kispum* and funerary rites and rituals in the ancient Near East, see Bayliss, M., "The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia," *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 115–25; Bottéro, J., "Les morts est l'au-delà dans les rituels en accadien contre l'action des « revenants »," *Zeitschrift fiir Assyriolog* 73 (1984), pp. 153–203; Castillo, J. S., "Las ofrendas funerarias en la Mesopotamia," *Estudios de Asia y Africa* 23 (1988), pp. 415–423; Cohen, A. C., *Death rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship. Toward a New Understanding of Iraq's Royal Cemetery at Ur*. AMD 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Jacquet, A., "Funerary Rituals and Cult of the Ancestors during the Amorite Period: The Evidence of the Royal Archives of Mari," in Pfälzner, P. et al. (eds.), (*Re-*)*Construction Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009*. Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag), pp. 123–136; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 28–39; Tsukimoto, A., *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege* (*kispum*) *im alten Mesopotamien*. AOAT 216 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1985), pp. 57–78.

284 According to Finkelstein, "Hammurapi," 95, he is sixth on the list. In Malamat's list, he appears in the ninth place. See Malamat, A., "King Lists of the Old Babylonian Period and Biblical Genealogies," *JAOS* 88 (1968), pp. 163–173 (172); Schmidt finds evidence that he was one of the warrior heroes of the past. See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 75.

The first parts of GHD and AKL show some similarities to known West-Semitic tribal names, in which the name *Ditānu* is included, and this might suggest a common origin between the dynasties of Assyria and Babylon.[285] Kitchen, using this information, suggests that *Ditānu* might be a common ancestor of the Ugaritic, Assyrian and Babylonian dynasties, and calculates his reign circa 2160 BCE.[286]

Other Ugaritic texts also contain some evidence of this name.[287] Some focus on a group called *bn dtn* ("Sons of *Dtn*") in KTU 4.69; an administrative text which mentions many groups and families and a division of some portions from the royal palace. The "sons of *Dtn*" (VI, 29) are found in a section that includes the *khnm* ("priests") and a group called *bn ṯʿy* (VI, 22–23), who are recognized as "nobles" or "heroes."[288] Some tie their appearance to the group of *mrynm* in this list (I, 1; III, 6), that probably represent a warrior class.[289] Gray suggests that the Sons of *Dtn* were a powerful family, with political influence and maybe even connected to the royal bloodline.[290]

Another known Ugaritic source of the name *Dtn* is text KTU 1.124 (RS 24.272), found in 1961 in the South Acropolis in Ras Shamra. It is a short text, describing a form of practical ritual used to cure a child of illness. It begins with an exposition that describes the case and someone named *Dtn* (lines 1–3), then the instructions of how to handle the boy's sickness (4–10a), the messenger who reaches *Dtn* and the acceptance of the boy's judgment (10b–12), further instructions (13–15) and the boy's healing (16). The first part is the most intriguing:

1	*kymġy . ʾadn*	When arrives, the Lord
2	*ʾilm . rbm . ʿm dtn*	of great/many gods, to *Dtn*
3	*wyšʾal . mṯpṭ . yld*	And asks for a boy's judgment …

285 See Finkelstein, "Hammurapi," 101; Malamat, "King Lists," 164.

286 See Kitchen, K., "The King List of Ugarit," *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 131–142 (142); For more about *Ditānu*'s relation to Ugaritic dynasty see Aranud, D., "Prolégomènes à la rédaction d'une Histoire d'Ougarit II: Les bordereaux de rois divinisés," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 41 (1998), pp. 153–173 (172–173); Levine, B. A. and de Tarragon, J., "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104 (1984), pp. 649–659 (654); de Moor, J. C., "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 323–345 (324); Suriano, M. J., *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel*. FAT II/48 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), pp. 150–151.

287 *Dtn* (KTU 4.422, 52; KTU 4.69, II, 9; VI, 29); See also possible variations: *Ddn* (KTU 1.170, 2; KTU 4.760, 5); *Tdn* (KTU 4.609, 22; KTU 4.659, 4).

288 Cf del Olmo Lete, G., "Ug. *ṯʿ. ṯʿy. ṯʿt*: Nombre Divino y Acción Cultual," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 27–33.

289 Cf Watson, W. G. E., "Non-Semitic Words in the Ugaritic Lexicon (8)," *UF* 42 (2010), pp. 831–846; Cf also Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 78.

290 See Gray, J., "Dtn and Rpʾum in Ancient Ugarit," *PEQ* 84 (1952), pp. 39–41 (40–41).

The first character in the text is *ʾadn ʾilm rbm* ("Lord of great/many gods"). Virolleaud sees this character as *ʾIlu*, the head of the Ugaritic pantheon.[291] This interpretation, devoid of context, seems to make sense. The word *adn* ("lord") can be understood as "father," which is close to *ʾIlu*'s epithet *ab bn ʾil* (KTU 1.40:33: "Father of the Sons of *ʾIlu*"), or maybe suggested in the theophoric name *ʾIl-adn* (*ʾIlu* is the lord").[292] The words *ʾilm rbm* can be interpreted as "many gods" or as "great gods." In text KTU 4.149, 1–2 a place called *bt ʾilm rbm* is mentioned in the context of receiving wine jars, and it is identified as a temple of some main Ugaritic deities.[293] The whole scene in KTU 1.124 is also thought to be a protocol of a ritual of necromancy, in which the deified spirit of ancient *Ditānu* is being invoked from the Underworld as an oracle who can provide healing advice on the boy's state or a newborn child.[294] By this understanding, the words *ʾilm rbm* are interpreted as "many/great spirits," and so the identity of the "lord" cannot be of *ʾIlu*, but of one of the deities with a certain connection to the Underworld.[295]

However, I disagree with the identification of *Dtn* in KTU 1.124 as *Ditānu*, the Ugaritic ancestor who is mentioned in the Story of *Kirta* and KTU 1.161 for several reasons; *Dtn* in KTU 1.124 is said to be a deity or a deified spirit that possesses healing powers. In the Story of *Kirta*, we learn that at some point the king becomes gravely ill. *ʾIlu* himself addresses the gods, asking them for help in removing *Kirta*'s illness. He asks seven times, but no one responds (KTU 1.16, V, 9–22). At this point, he decides to act on his own in order to help *Kirta*, and succeeds. If *Kirta* himself, son of *ʾIlu*, is connected to a healing deity such as

291 See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 563–564. Spronk sees the lord as the god *Baʿalu*. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 194.

292 Cf text UF 29, 826: 4 in Lemaire, A., "La tablette Ougaritique alphabétique UF 29, 826 replacée dans son contexte," *UF* 30 (1998), pp. 461–465; Cf Rahmouni, A., *Divine Epithets in the Ugaritic Alphabetic Texts*. HdO 93 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), p. 30.

293 Cf Wyatt, N., *Word of Tree and Whisper of Stone and Other Papers on Ugaritian Thought* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press, 2007), p. 65.

294 See Greenstein, "Kirta," 45, note 69; Dietrich and Loretz suggest a statue of *Ditānu* was displayed for the ceremony. See Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., *Mantik in Ugarit: Keilalphabetische Texte der Opferschau, Omensammlungen, Nekromantie* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1990), p. 209; del Olmo Lete compares this with the Biblical story of the witch from *ʿén*-Dōr in 1 Sam 28. See del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by Watson. W. G. E., AOAT 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), pp. 264–265; Pope compares the *mtpṭ yld* ("boy's judgment, ruling, fate") to *mišpaṭ ha-naʿar* in Jud 13:12, regarding Samson. See Pope, "Rephaim," 179; See also Tropper, J., *Nekromantie: Totenbefragung im Alten Orient und im Alten Testament*. AOAT 223 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1989), pp. 153–156; Watson, W. G. E. and Wyatt, N., "KTU 1.124 Again: Further Reflections," *UF* 45 (2014), pp. 305–311.

295 Pardee suggests: "Rašap, Milku or Yariḫu … certainly not the solar deity, who is feminine in Ugarit", see Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult in Ugarit* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2002), p. 170.

Dtn, wouldn't he help him without any need of mediation? How can *Dtn* ignore the condition of *Kirta*? And how can he also ignore *ʾIlu*'s call, who wishes to heal a "child," his son, as in KTU 1.124? There is no doubt that *Dtn* in KTU 1.124 has healing knowledge, but it is questionable whether he is a deity. *Dtn* in KTU 1.124 must refer to another with this same popular name, and not *Ditānu* in the Story of Kirta or KTU 1.161, whose name is written in the same manner. Furthermore, the *Rpʾum* has nothing to do with healing in any source, as also discussed below (§2.10).

Thus far, this short survey of Ugaritic *Dtn*/*Ddn* has presented several views of the identity of this intriguing character. Each theory can be accepted independently or in combination with others. *Ditānu* was probably an ancient ruler of a nomadic tribe in ancient Syria in the third millennium BCE. After his death, his people kept his name and his memory as a founding father. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Ugaritic dynasties are all somehow originated from this tribe, and later, when the West-Semitic tradition of the *Rpʾum* rooted, *Ditānu* became identified as the father of many of the *Rpʾum* kings, probably also with divine origin as *Kirta*, and all kings. The phrases *rpʾi ʾarṣ*//*qbṣ dtn/ddn* connect *Kirta* with the kings in KTU 1.161 and KTU 1.108, and shows the necessity of linking the royal bloodline to an ancient and divine source that binds all of the *Rpʾum* together in some way. The word *pḫr* (KTU 1.15, III, 4, 15, "assembly") which describes *qbṣ Dtn* (The group of *Dtn*) is often used to describe a divine assembly, and the choice of using it is not a coincidence. The *Rpʾum*, like *Kirta*, see themselves as the offspring of gods, who just like them, may at times stand shoulder to shoulder, or fight each other for supremacy.

In conclusion, although the *Rpʾum* are only mentioned twice in the story of King *Kirta*, it is clear that the scribe identifies him as one of them. This is also suggested by KTU 1.161, discussed below (§2.6). Furthermore, the motif of comparison between the hero of the story and other *Rpʾum* is present here as well as in the story of *Dānʾilu*, man of *Rpʾi*, who compares himself to his brothers and fellows because of his childlessness. *Kirta* is addressed as a son of *ʾIlu* by the narrator and by his son, and this shows his divine origin, although this does not suggest immortality or supernatural powers, as possessed by other gods. The name *Dtn* probably refers to a known ancestor in ancient times, affiliated with the ruling *Rpʾum*. The appearance of this character is most important in connecting *Kirta* with the *Rpʾum*, and also with other kings that appear in KTU 1.161. This conclusion also concludes the mythological section of this study which is written by the scribe *ʾIlimilku* (The *Rpʾum*, The Legend of *Aqhatu*, The Cycle of *Baʿalu* and the Story of *Kirta*). It can be assumed that the idea of the *Rpʾum* is consistent in all of his works, and so once this concept has been understood in one, it has been understood in all.

2.6 A Memorial Service for *Niqmaddu* (KTU 1.161)

This important text connects concepts of Ugaritic myth and monarchy, placing the new king, *ʿAmmurpʾi*, at the end of a long lineage of his *Rpʾum* ancestors. It is also the only Ugaritic text in which most of the *Rpʾum* that are mentioned are deceased. The relatively well-preserved tablet (RS 36.126)[296] was found in the 1973 excavation in Ras Shamra (height: 13.5 cm; width: 10.9 cm) in a location on the southern part of the Tel, named the "House of *Urtenu*," who was an important individual with strong connections to the royal house, especially the queen.[297] Since this text was found in his private residence, *Urtenu* might have played a role in the execution of the ritual depicted in the text.[298]

The timeframe of this tablet probably comes shortly after the coronation of king *ʿAmmurpʾi* III (circa 1225/1220–1215), the last king of Ugarit, and close to the death of his father, King *Niqmaddu* III (circa 1215–1190/85).[299] In this ritual, ancient and recently deceased *Rpʾum* are invoked from the Underworld and gather for two reasons: to join the lament over *Niqmaddu*, and to bless the new king, *ʿAmmurpʾi*.[300] The text is written in a poetic style, and its exact function has been much debated.[301] In any case, it has been agreed that the text reflects

296 Located in Aleppo, Syria. Catalog number M 49.

297 See Bordreuil P. and Malbran-Labat, F., "Les archives de la maison d'Ourtenou," in *CRSAIBL* 139 (1995), pp. 443–451; Pardee, D. and Bordreuil, P., "Découvertes épigraphiques anciennes et récentes en cunéiforme alphabétique. De la bibliothèque de Ḫourasanou aux archives d'Ourtenou," in Calvet, Y. and Yon, M. (eds.), *Ougarit au Bronze moyen et au Bronze recent*, Travaux de la Maison de l'Orient 47 (Lyon: Maison de l'orient mediterraneen, 2008), pp. 183–194 (186–187); For more on *Urtenu*, see Calvet, Y., "The House of Urtenu," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 63, *The Mysteries of Ugarit: History, Daily Life, Cult* (2000), pp. 210–213; van Soldt, W. H., "The Travelling Queen of Ougarit," in Matoïan, V. and Al-Maqdissi, M. (eds.), *Ras Shamra – Ugarit* 24, *Études ougaritiques* IV (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp 109–118; Yon, M., "La maison d'Ourtenou dans le quartier sud d'Ougarit (fouilles 1994)," in *CRSAIBL* (1995). pp. 427–443.

298 Cf Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult in Ugarit* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2002), p. 86; According to Niehr, it is possible to pinpoint the location where this ritual took place in Ras-Shamra, based on textual and archaeological data. See Niehr, N., "The King's Two Bodies: Political Dimensions of the Royal Cult of the Dead at Ugarit, Byblos and Qatna," in Pfälzner, P. et al. (eds.), *Qaṭna and the Networks of Bronze Age Globalism. Proceedings of an International Conferencein Stuttgart and Tübingen in October 2009* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2015), pp. 157–177 (159–164).

299 Cf a king-list table by Singer in *HUS*, 731–733; Kitchen, K., "The King List of Ugarit," *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 131–142.

300 The gathering of the *Rpʾum* is already mentioned above in KTU 1.22.

301 Cf del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by Watson. W. G. E., AOAT 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), p. 156; Pitard, W. T., "The Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126," *BASOR* 232 (1978), pp. 65–75 (65);

some aspects of the cult of the dead in Ugarit, and many compare it to the *kispum* ritual, and find some similarities to the GHD text (BM 80328), which is discussed above.[302] In the *kispum* ritual, the spirits of the dead are served different foods and drinks, mostly by family members, in order to receive their blessing and to prevent the dissatisfaction of the deceased individuals, who possess certain supernatural powers postmortem.[303] Although there are similarities, not all agree that the ritual in KTU 1.161 reflects aspects of a *kispum* ritual.[304] It is apparent from the text that under certain circumstances, the dead may join the living. Yet it is wrong to assume, based on this text, that all *Rp'um* represent the dead or deified spirits in Ugaritic texts. Several stories, like the legend of *Aqhatu*, *Kirta* and the *Rp'um*, have represented living members of the *Rp'um*. The tablet speaks of *Rp'um*, who happen to be dead, since it is a funerary text. The *Rp'um* ancestors are not the main focus of the text. If this was the case, we would see an elaboration of names belonging to *'Ammurp'i*'s bloodline, as in the texts of the GHD, KTU 1.113 and more. The *Rp'um* in this

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Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), pp. 100–103; Tsumura, D. T., "The Interpretation of the Ugaritic Funerary Text KTU 1.161," in Matsushima, E. (ed.), *Official Cult and Popular Religion in the Ancient Near East, Papers of the First Colloquium on the Ancient Near East – The City and its Life held at the Middle Eastern Culture Center in Japan* (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag C. Winter, 1993), pp. 40–55 (40).

302 Cf Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., "Totenverehrung in Māri (12803) und Ugarit (KTU 1.161)," *UF* 12 (1980), pp. 381–382; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 67; Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182 (163); Spronk, *HUS*, 283; Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*. 2nd Edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), p. 430.

303 For more on *kispum* and funerary rites and rituals in the Ancient Near East see Bayliss, M., "The Cult of Dead Kin in Assyria and Babylonia," *Iraq* 35 (1973), pp. 115–125; Bottéro, J., "Les morts est l'au-delà dans les rituels en accadien contre l'action des « revenants »," *Zeitschrift fiir Assyriolog* 73 (1984), pp. 153–203; Castillo, J. S., "Las ofrendas funerarias en la Mesopotamia," *Estudios de Asia y Africa* 23 (1988), pp. 415–423; Cohen, A. C., *Death rituals, Ideology, and the Development of Early Mesopotamian Kingship. Toward a New Understanding of Iraq's Royal Cemetery at Ur*. AMD 7 (Leiden: Brill, 2005); Finkelstein, J. J., "The Genealogy of the Hammurapi Dynasty," *JCS* 20 (1966), pp. 95–118 (115); Jacquet, A., "Funerary Rituals and Cult of the Ancestors during the Amorite Period: The Evidence of the Royal Archives of Mari," in Pfälzner, P. et al. (eds.), *(Re-)Construction Funerary Rituals in the Ancient Near East. Proceedings of the First International Symposium of the Tübingen Post-Graduate School "Symbols of the Dead" in May 2009.* Qatna Studien Supplementa 1, (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag), pp. 123–136; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 67–68; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 28–39; Tsukimoto, A., *Untersuchungen zur Totenpflege* (*kispum*) *im alten Mesopotamien*. AOAT 216 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1985), pp. 57–78.

304 Cf Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 103.

text are a select few, starting with *Didānu*, who connects *ʿAmmurpʾi*'s lineage to the first recorded dynasty, and also to the myth of *Kirta*, and thus to a divine origin. At the end of the lineage stands *ʿAmmurpʾi*, as the last member of divine mortals, which is even reflected in his name.

The text can be divided into several parts: 1) line 1: Designation title; 2) lines 2–8: Invoking the ancient deceased *Rpʾum*; 3) lines 9–12: Invoking the recently deceased *Rpʾum*; 4) lines 13–17: A lament over *Niqmaddu*; 5) lines 18–26: *Šapšu* orders the *Rpʾum* to descend back to the Underworld; 6) lines 27–30: Seven offerings are given. 7) lines 31–34: Blessings to *ʿAmmurpʾi*, the queen and the city of Ugarit.

1	*spr . dbḥ . ẓlm*	The document of the Twilight sacrifice
2	*qrʾitm . rpʾim . a*[rṣ...]	You have (all) invoked the *Rpʾum* of the l[and]
3	*qbʾitm . qbṣ .* d[dn ...]	You have (all) summoned the group of *Di*[dānu]
4	*qrʾa . ʾulkn . r*p[ʾu ...]	He has invoked *ʾUlkn* the *Rp*[ʾu]
5	*qrʾa . trmn . r*p[ʾu ...]	He has invoked *Trmn* the *Rp*[ʾu]
6	*qrʾa . sdn . w . rd*[n ...]	He has invoked *Sdn*-and-*Rd*[n ...]
7	*qrʾa . ṯr . ʿllmn*[...]	He has invoked *Ṯr ʿllmn*[...]
8	*qrʾu . rpʾim . qdmy*m[...]	They have (all) invoked the ancient *Rpʾum*
9	*qrʾitm . rp*ʾi . *ʾarṣ*	You have (all) invoked the *Rpʾum* of the land
10	*qbʾitm . qbṣ . ddn*	You have (all) summoned the group of *Didānu*
11	*qrʾa . ʿmṯtm*r . *m*lk	He has invoked *ʿAmmittamru* the king
12	*qrʾa . ʾu . nqm*d . mlk	He has invoked *Niqmaddu* the king
13	*ksʾi . nqmd . t*bky	Throne of *Niqmaddu* – you shall weep
14	*w . ydmʿ .* h*dm .* p*ʿnh*	And shed tears – will his footstool
15	*lpnh . ybk*y . *ṯlḥn . mlk*	Before him will cry the king's table
16	*w . yblʿ . ʾudmʿt*h	And will swallow its tears
17	*ʿdmt . w . ʿdmt . ʿdmt*	Desolation, and desolation of desolations!
18	*ʾišḫn . špš .*	Grow warm, *Šapšu*
18–19	*w . ʾišḫn / nyr .* [r]b*t .*	And grown warm, O Great Light
	ʿln . špš . tsḥ	From above, *Šapšu* cries out:
20	*ʾaṯr .* [b]ʿ*lk .* l . *k*sʾi .	After your [ow]ner, O throne
20–21	*ʾaṯr / bʿlk . ʾarṣ . rd .*	After your owner, descend to the ground
21–22	*ʾarṣ /rd . w . špl . ʿpr .*	Descend to the ground, and lower yourself to the earth
22–23	*tḥt / sdn . w . rdn .*	Under *Sdn*-and-*Rdn*

23–24	*tḥt . ṯr / ʿl{.}lmn .*	Under *Ṯr ʿllmn*
24	*tḥt . rpʾim . qdmym*	Under the ancient *Rpʾum*
25	*tḥt . ʿmṯ*tmr *. mlk*	Under *ʿAmmittamru* the king
26	*tḥ{m}t . ʾu . nq*[md] *. mlk*	And under *Niq*[*mad*]*du* the king
27	*šty . w .* ṯ[ʿy . ṯn .]w *. ṯ*[y]	One and an of[fering, two]and an offer[ing]
Reverse		
28	*ṯlṯ . w . ṯ*ʿ[y] *.* ʾa[rbʿ] *.* wṯʿ[y]	Three and an off[ering], fo[ur] and an offe[ring]
29	*ḫmš . w . ṯʿy . ṯ*t[. w] *.* tʿy	Five and an offering, six[and] an offering
30	*šbʿ . w . ṯʿy . tq*d*m .* ṣr	Seven and an offering, offer a bird.
31	*šlm .*	Peace!
31–32	*šlm . ʿmr*[*pʾi*]*/ w . šlm . bth .*	Peace to *ʿAmmur*[pʾi] and peace to his house
32–33	*šlm .* [t]ry[l]*/ šlm . bth .*	Peace to [T]*ryl*, peace to her house
33–34	*šlm . ʾu*[g]*rt/ šlm . ṯġrh*	Peace to U[g]arit, Peace to its gates

Epigraphic and philological notes:

Part 1 – Line 1: Designation title: This is the title of the document (*spr*) which explains the purpose of this text.[305] *dbḥ* – Should be translated as "sacrifice," although some see it as a "feast" or a "celebration."[306] There is no certain evidence that the participants are taking part in a feast. It is definitely not related to the *mrzḥ* institution that was discussed regarding KTU 1.21 II.[307] The main problem with this line is the understanding of the word *ṣlm*, which is the object of the sacrifice. Caquot, who prepared the first transliteration of the text, preferred reading *qlm* instead of *ṣlm*.[308] First translations of *qlm* vary from "child," "prostration," "swift-ones" to "intonation."[309] Later epigraphic studies

305 For similar openings in Ugaritic texts, cf KTU 3.3, 1; KTU 4.33, 1; KTU 4.93, I, 1; KTU 4.124, 1 and more. According to some, the pattern of the title of the ritual resembles Lev 7:11 (wezōt tōrat zeḇaḥ ha-šelāmīm) in some way. See Healey, J. F., "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 – Translation and Notes," UF 10 (1977), pp. 83–88 (84); Wyatt, Religious Texts, 431.

306 Cf Levine, B. A. and de Tarragon, J., "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104 (1984), pp. 649–659 (651); Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 109; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 42.

307 See Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., "Neue Studien zu den Ritualtexten aus Ugarit (II) Nr. 6 – Epigraphische und inhaltliche Probleme in KTU 1.161," *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 17–24 (23).

308 See Caquot, A., "Hébreu et araméen," *Annuaire du Collège de France* 75 (1975), pp. 423–432 (27–29).

309 Respectively: Lipiński believes this line reflects the intention of sacrificing a child to the god Molech. See Lipiński, E., "Ditanu," in Avishur, Y. and Blau, J. (eds.), *Studies in the Bible and the Ancient Near East Presented to Samuel E. Loewenstamm on his Seventieth Birthday*, Vol 1 (Jerusalem: E. Rubinstein's Publishing House, 1978), pp. 91–110 (98); L'Heureux

preferred *ẓlm* to *qlm*.[310] There are a few notable interpretations for this word: 1) "statue," similar to Hebrew *ṣelęm*.[311] This interpretation has for the most part been rejected, yet it is interesting in light of findings such as the seated king statue from Tel-*Ḥāzōr* and other Near Eastern examples;[312] 2) "shades," similar to Akkadian *ṣillu* or Hebrew *ṣēl* ("shade"). According to this interpretation, the spirits of the dead in the Underworld are seen as dark "shades," or "protective spirits";[313] 3) "solar deity" (*Ẓalmu*). Dalley suggests that *Ṣalmu* is one of the names of the Sun-God in Mesopotamia and may appear in KTU 1.161.[314] Others suggest that this name represents the iconography of the Winged Disc which symbolizes the solar deity.[315] Tsumura suggests that this name is a "nocturnal form of the sun goddess, who plays the central role in the present ritual."[316] 4) Pope prefers the reading of *qlm*, but notes that if the reading of *ẓlm* is the correct one, it is to be interpreted as Akkadian *ṣalāmu* ("darkness"), since a funeral ritual is supposed to be nocturnal.[317] More evidence of Ugaritic *ẓlm* with the same meaning appears in KTU 1.169:7–8: *bmrmt*/ *bmʾiyt* . *bẓlm* . *bqdš* ("in heights, in swamps, in darkness, in sanctuary").[318] I agree with this translation. The interpretation of "shades" seems unlikely. The *Rpʾum* who are invited

translates it by Ugaritic Q-L ("to fall down"). See L'Heureux, C. E., *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Baʿal, and the Repha'im* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), p. 189; de Moor translates the word by Ugaritic Q-L ("to go quickly"). See de Moor, J. C., "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 323–345 (333); Pope translates it by Ugaritic *ql* ("voice"). See Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182 (177).

310 See detailed facsimile in Bordreuil P. and Pardee, D., "Le rituel funéraire ougaritique RS. 34.126," *Syria* 59 (1982), pp. 121–128 (124).

311 Cf Dietrich and Loretz, "Totenverehrung," 382.

312 See Ben-Tor, A., "Tel Hazor, 1996," *IEJ* 46 (1996), pp. 262–268; For more images of statues of seated kings, see Ornan, T., "The Long Life of a Dead King: A Bronze Statue from Hazor in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *BASOR* 366 (2012), pp. 1–24.

313 Cf Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult in Ugarit* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2002), pp, 83, 113, note 123; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 189; Levine and de Tarragon compare this to Ps 121:5–6, and translate as "guardian patrons." See Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 651. Cf also del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 157. Schmidt rejects this interpretation. See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 110.

314 Cf Dalley, S., "The God Salmu and the Winged Disk," *Iraq* 48 (1986), pp. 85–101 (89–90, 94).

315 Cf Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, p. 112; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 431.

316 See Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 54.

317 See Pope, "Rephaim," 177. Cf also Lewis, T. J., *Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit*. HSM 39 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), pp. 10–12, who compares it to Hebrew *ṣalmāwęt* (Isa 9:1; Jer 2:6 and more).

318 For more on KTU 1.169 see del Olmo Lete, G., *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), pp. 165–172; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 159–161. Cf *ẓlmt* in KTU 1.4, II, 55.

are respectful beings, kings of old, divine and dignified. They are far more than just "shades." Furthermore, the document is not entitled "*spr dbḫ rp'um*" and it is clear that they are not the subject here. The interpretation of "solar deity" is also problematic. Although *Šapšu* is the only major deity in this ritual, she is not its subject. The role of the goddess here is to order the *Rp'um* to descend back to the Underworld after the ceremony ends, probably along with her. It seems that *ẓlm* represents the *time* of the ritual, and should be understood as "nightfall," or "twilight."[319]

Part 2 – Lines 2–8: Invoking the ancient deceased *Rp'um*: This part of the ritual begins by a general invoking of the *Rp'um* (2–3), continues with invoking specific *Rp'um* (4–7), and ends with a summary (8). The verb Q-R-ʾ ("to call, invoke, summon") opens most of the lines in this section, and has caused a great deal of perplexity since the morphology of the verbs is not entirely clear in their context: Is someone (sin. or pl) invoking the *Rp'um* or are they being invoked? This has been explained in several ways: Line 2 (also 9): 1) reading *qr'itm* as G active 2nd pl. form: "you (pl.) invoked the *Rp'um*."[320] or as a form of a question: "have you invoked the *Rp'um*?";[321] 2) reading *qr'itm* as passive forms: "you are invoked, *Rp'um*";[322] 3) Pitard reads *qr'it* + enclitic /*m*/ as 1st perfect sin.: "I have invoked".[323] Healey also reads *qr'itm* in 1st as "prescriptive perfects": "You (pl.) (will) have invoked …".[324] Lines 4–8 (also 11–12): The verbs *qr'a* and *qr'u* have also been translated in different ways: 1) G active: "he invoked/they invoked";[325] 2) passive form: "… is invoked/… are invoked";[326] 3) imperative: "invoke!"[327] It seems to me that the interpretation of the verbs

319 For example of *dbḫ* in reference to time, cf KTU 1.127, 1.

320 Cf L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 189; Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 652; de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim," 333; Pope, "Rephaim," 177; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190.

321 Cf del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 157; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 112.

322 Cf Bordreuil and Pardee, "RS 34.126," 123; Good, R. M., "Supplementary Remarks on the Ugaritic Funerary Text RS 34.126," *BASOR* 239 (1980), pp.41–42 (41); Lewis, *Cults of the Dead*, 12; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 87; Suriano, M. J., "Dynasty Building at Ugarit: The Ritual and Political Context of KTU 1.161," *Aula Orientalis* 27 (2009), pp. 105–123 (107); Tropper, J., *Ugaritische Grammatik*. AOAT 273 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), p. 316; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 42; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 432.

323 See Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 68.

324 See Healey, J. F., "Ritual Text KTU 1.161 – Translation and Notes," *UF* 10 (1977), pp. 83–88 (84).

325 Cf de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim," 333; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 112; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190.

326 Cf Good, "RS 34.126"; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 87; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 42.

327 Cf Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 652; Pope, "Rephaim," 177; Sivan, D., *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2001), p. 120, who suggests it is an imperative with a volitive-a.

as G active is preferable. Pitard's interpretation of reading *qr'itm* as 1st person derives from his view that it is more likely that the rites of the ritual would have been carried out by a single person, the priest or the king, rather than a group.[328] The change of verb forms might simply be explained by the fact that there are several participants in the ceremony, but it is still carried out by a main speaker; the speaker addresses a group (choir?) of priests, each of whom is in charge of invoking one of the ancient *Rp'um* (lines 2–3), and then he addresses the audience, while pointing out each priest and his assigned member of the *Rp'um*, that needs to be invoked (lines 4–7 and also 11–12). In the end, he summarizes: "They have (all) invoked …" (line 8). The presence of several participants in ritual and ceremonies is seen in Biblical texts, and probably in Ugaritic texts.[329] This interpretation does not require special verb forms, but changes the perspective of the ceremony.

Once again, we see the parallel between *rp'i 'arṣ* ("*Rp'um* of the land") and *qbṣ dtn/ddn* ("The group of *Dtn*/*Ddn*) in lines 2–3, as in the Story of *Kirta* (KTU 1.15, III, 2–15). *Kirta*, a member of the *Rp'um* with divine origin (KTU 1.16, I, 9–11; 17–23) is affiliated with *Didānu*, probably a famous patriarchal ancestor connected to the Ugaritic dynasty and the *Rp'um*. Both scribes, of *Kirta* and KTU 1.161, knowingly wished to include all the *Rp'um* along with main royal characters. The *Rp'um* are the glue that tie all of these texts together, and they forge a link between the king's respectable and divine lineage to a mythic origin, deriving from the gods.[330] In the myth, the "*Rp'um* of the land" are mentioned as a living group of heroes, kings or judges, but in this text, the only surviving *Rp'um* probably belonged to the royal bloodline, or maybe to another respectable group. And so, most of the *Rp'um* in KTU 1.161 are called up from the Underworld, but actually, from the past, from the time of myth and history.

In lines 4–7 some specific *Rp'um* are addressed by name: *'Ulkn*, *Trmn*, *Sdn*-and-*Rdn* and *Ṯr ʿllmn*. Pitard raises the question if these are the only ones who are invited to the ritual, or if perhaps they represent a larger group of *Rp'um*.[331] The second opinion seems more logical, considering lines 22–26, where some of their names are repeated, but some are missing. Nevertheless, it remains an open question why these names were picked from a long list of

328 See Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 68.

329 Cf Amzallag N. and Avriel, M., "Complex Antiphony in David's Lament and Its Literary Significance", *VT* 60 (2010), pp. 1–14; Amzallag N. and Avriel, M., "Responsive voices in the Song of the Sea (Exodus 15: 1–21)," *JBQ* 40 (2012), pp. 211–225; Amzallag N. and Yona, Sh., "The Unusual Mode of Editing of KTU 1.65," *UF* 45 (2014), pp. 35–38.

330 For more on the concept of kings as sons of gods, see Smith, G. V., "The Concept of God/the Gods as King in the Ancient Near East and the Bible," *Trinity Journal* 3 (1982), pp. 18–38 (23–29).

331 See Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 69.

ancestors, and if they were kings, warriors or judges, and if so, in which kingdom they dwelt. *ʾUlkn* – Earlier transcripts read *Blkn*.[332] *Trmn* – A group called *bn Trmn* ("Sons of *Trmn*") appears in an administrative text (KTU 4.612, 6), but the tablet is too damaged to know more. *ʾUlkn* and *Trmn* carry the epithet *rpʾu* while *Sdn*-and-*Rdn* and *Ṯr ʿllmn* do not. Schmidt argues that both *ʾUlkn* and *Trmn* are part of a living group of *Rpʾum*, nobles and warriors, who attend the ritual, whereas *Sdn*-and-*Rdn* and *Ṯr ʿllmn* are in fact, deceased.[333] This is a problematic claim. The framing of the unit in lines 2 and 8 affirms that all the names in this section are members of the *Rpʾum*, even without the title *Rpʾu*. Evidently, king *ʿAmmurpʾi* lacks the title *mlk* ("king") in the text, an honorable title that the deceased kings in lines 11–12 and 25–26, *ʿAmmittamru* and *Niqmaddu* do carry.[334] *Sdn*-and-*Rdn* – Most translate as a double name. This makes sense, since it is written in a single line, and *Rdn* is not being invoked as others are.[335] *Ṯr . ʿllmn* – Most leave the name untranslated, yet it is difficult to ignore the similarity to the word *ʿllmy* ("eternal") which is discussed above (KTU 1.22, I, 10). This might be a case of coincidence, but since the use of this terminology repeats in three texts that address the *Rpʾum* and the concept of kingship (KTU 1.22; 1.161; 1.108), it seems that "eternal" is the correct translation in this case.[336] This part ends with a summary by the speaker, explaining that the ancient *Rpʾum* have now been invoked and so the next part may begin.

Part 3 – Lines 9–12: Invoking the recently deceased *Rpʾum*: Lines 9–10 repeat the formula of lines 2–3, demonstrating a certain separation between ancient history (myth) and actual recent history, to invoke the two previous kings who ruled the kingdom; *ʿAmmittamru* II and *Niqmaddu* III.[337] The fact that *Niqmaddu* is being invoked here suggests that he had already found residence in the Underworld at the time of the ritual. And so, this is probably a memorial service, not a funeral ritual, where he had to be guided to the Underworld for the first time. Unlike previous ancestors in KTU 1.161, *ʿAmmittamru* and *Niqmaddu* are known kings of Ugarit. According to historical data, a king named *Ibiranu* ruled prior to *Niqmaddu* and after *ʿAmmittamru* circa 1235–1225/1220,

332 Cf Healey, "KTU 1.161," 84; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 333; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 66.

333 See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 105.

334 To still refer past-kings as *mlkm* ("kings") should not bother the reader of the text, cf Biblical literature: Jer 41:9; Zech 14:5.

335 Some see them as separate individuals, Cf Healey, "KTU 1.161," 84; Kitchen, "King List," 142; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 333: all reading *Bdn-w-Rdn*.

336 See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 434; For other translations see: "usurper," de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; "unrelated," Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190. Pope translates *ṯr ʿllmn* to "Bull Savant." See Pope, "Rephaim," 178.

337 Line 11: The letter / ʿ/ in *ʿmṯtmr*'s name slightly resembles the letter /*ṯ*/.

but he is absent from KTU 1.161.[338] Levine and de Tarragon suggest the possibility that it was not intended to mention a direct succession before *Niqmaddu*, or perhaps *Ibiranu* was *Niqmaddu*'s uncle, so that *ʿAmmittamru* and *Niqmaddu* are indeed his grandfather and father.[339] In any case, the appearance of two familiar deceased kings in this text leads the discussion to the nature of the *Rpʾum* as representing the divinization of kings. del Olmo Lete notes that only deceased kings have been deified, and there is no evidence for the divinity of living kings.[340] L'Heureux notes that the *Rpʾum* in KTU 1.161 do not refer to the dead, otherwise, *Rpʾum qdmym* would be tautological, and adds: "This text, then, deals with two categories of *Rpʾum*; the *rpʾi ʾarṣ*... the *Rpʾum qdmym* ... Since neither of these groups of *Rpʾum* is referred to as *ʾilnym*, we must allow for the possibility that there is a third group of *Rpʾum*...."[341] According to Pardee: "these Ancestors are called up to participate in and to affect the '*rapaʾum*-ization' of the newly deceased king."[342] Levine and de Tarragon state: "the kings are not Rephaim, but they inhabit the land of the Rephaim!"[343] KTU 1.161, allegedly, proves a direct link between the dead and the *Rpʾum*, following the description of dead Rephaim in some of the Phoenician and Biblical texts. However, this is the *only* Ugaritic text in which we find dead *Rpʾum*, and there is no need to adjust this concept because of one piece of evidence, and apply it to all others. As I will show in the following chapters, the Phoenician texts tell of dead Rephaim as well, since they are funerary texts, just like KTU 1.161. In Biblical literature we have an entirely different situation, where the Rephaim are being systematically killed by God and men in order to eliminate their memory because they represent the divinity of mortals as derived from God, something that monotheistic approaches cannot tolerate. Kings do not *turn* into Rephaim when they die, they *are* Rephaim before and after death, and every evidence points to this conclusion. The only way to solve much of the confusion regarding their characters, is to acknowledge this fact.

There are some who argue that dead kings are deified in Ugaritic culture. One of the texts that is usually brought up in this discussion is KTU 1.113 (RS 24.257)

338 Cf Kitchen, "King List," 131–133; Singer, *HUS*, 683–691.

339 See Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 653–654.

340 Cf del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 143.

341 See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 189.

342 See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 87.

343 See Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 657; Cf also Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 435.

which was found in 1961 in Ras Shamra.[344] The tablet is badly damaged. The text on the obverse side is separated by horizontal lines. Each part contains a musical instrument; a pipe (*ṯlbm*) or a drum (*tp*), and an individual known only by the epithet/name *nʿm* ("the good one"). The preposition /*l*/ before *nʿm* indicates that the actions that take place in this musical sequence are for/by him. The reverse of the tablet is also damaged, but it can be seen that it is separated into two columns that contain an Ugaritic king list, with the word *ʾil* ("god") before each name. Some consider this text to be a liturgical hymn.[345] According to Pardee, if both sides are connected, they may be addressing a recently deceased king who joined the *Rpʾum* and became godlike.[346] He also mentions Wyatt's opinion, who suggests that the text could have been repeated, with each of the kings on the list being addressed in turn.[347] Schmidt claims that this text lacks ritualistic terminology but does contain mythic terminology. He claims that the word *ʾil* ("god") that appears before each of the kings in the list is representing a personal deity who is affiliated with a specific king.[348] The identity of *nʿm* is unclear. Kitchen claims that the epithet *nʿm* is used in Ugaritic to describe known heroes such as *Kirta* and *Aqhatu*, but not deities, a claim which can be disputed. This epithet is very general, and appears in the context of heroes, gods and personal names as well.[349] The syllabically text RS 94.2518 is also used as an example of the divinization of kings, in which the names of 26 kings appear, and before each name we find the determinative

344 Virolleaud published only one side (recto) of the tablet. See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 561–562; For a full translation, transliteration, facsimile and images, See Pardee, D., *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24 e campagne (1961)*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit IV (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988), pp. 165–178.

345 See Kitchen, "King List," 140. del Olmo Lete sees the instruments in this text as designed to play heavenly music which accompanies the dead. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 145.

346 Cf Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 195–202. See also Xella, *HUS*, 299.

347 See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 400, note 7.

348 Cf Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 68–70.

349 See Kitchen, "King List," 140. For examples of *nʾm*, cf KTU 1.10, II, 16 (the goddess *ʿAnatu*); KTU 1.24, 25 (the god *Yariḫu*); In personal names, cf KTU 4.33, 41; 4.35, I, 21 and more. According to Spronk, *nʿm* might represent *Radmanu*, a lower-class deity. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 155; A unique example of *nʿm* can be found in KTU 1.166, 13–14: *rpi . yqr* …/ *nʿm* … Although it is difficult to say more because of the condition of the tablet, it is interesting to see the word *nʿm* with closeness to the possible construct *rpi yqr*. *Yaqaru* is also the name of one of the first known kings of Ugarit, yet this is probably a case of coincidence. Cf *Yaqaru* in Kitchen, "King List," 132; According to *DUL*, 961, *Yaqaru* is "founder of the royal dynasty of Ugarit." Del Olmo Lete identifies him with *rpʾu* in KTU 1.108. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 145–146.

DINGIR, used for divine names.[350] Some consider, with certain reservations, the appearance of *mlkm* and ^{d}*ma-lik*-MEŠ in the last parts of several deity lists as evidence for the theory that deified kings entered the divine pantheon.[351] Although it is difficult to determine the exact function of texts KTU 1.113 and RS 94.2518, and it is debatable whether they are hymns, incantations, *kispum* rituals and so on, the text does reveal a concept of royal divinity. The kings in these lists, as well as the kings in KTU 1.161 (besides *ʿAmmurpʾi*), are long gone, and so the connection between dead kings and divinization can easily be suggested. Yet, the living *Rpʾum* in myth (*Aqhatu*, KTU 1.20–1.22, *Kirta*) are also referred to as *ʾilnym* ("divine ones") and *ʾilm* ("gods"), and so there is no reason to assume that they gained the title *ʾil* only postmortem, or that they are now worshipped as gods, but that this is an honorable title, pointing out their divine origin, like *Kirta* and all other *Rpʾum*. The divinity of Rephaim in their lifetime is also apparent in Biblical texts, as in Isa 14:9–13 and Ezek 28:2–9 (§4.5.1.1; §4.5.2), that demonstrate the mockery that the prophets express towards foreign kings, believing that they are divine in their lifetime, and being compared to other Rephaim who believed likewise, but died nevertheless. KTU 1.161 does reveal a new aspect of the *Rpʾum*; they assemble not only on happy occasions, but also at memorial rituals, escorting the recently deceased kings to join their place, as the most honorable group in the Underworld (as also shown in KAI 13, 14 and 117).

To summarize the general understanding of the *Rpʾum* in Ugaritic (and Phoenician) thought so far: 1) all *Rpʾum* are of divine origin, in life and death; 2) all kings are *Rpʾum*, in life and death; 3) not all *Rpʾum* are kings. And so, all of the masculine names in KTU 1.161 are *Rpʾum*, with or without a title, alive or dead.

Part 4 – Lines 13–17: Lament over *Niqmaddu*: KTU reading of *tbky* is reasonable from epigraphic evidence, even though the tablet is partially worn in this

350 Cf Aranud, D., "Prolégomènes à la rédaction d'une Histoire d'Ougarit II: Les bordereaux de rois divinisés," *Studi Micenei ed Egeo-Anatolici* 41 (1998), pp. 153–173; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 145–146; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 203–204.

351 The term *mlk* is discussed below regarding text KTU 1.108. See texts KTU 1.47, 33 and KTU 1.118, 32 (Ugaritic); RS 20.024, 32 and maybe RS 92.2004, 42 as well (syllabic). Healey considers *rpʾum* as an epithet of *mlkm*. See Healey, J. F., "Mlkm/Rpʾum and the Kispum," *UF* 10 (1977), pp. 89–91; For more on *mlkm*, see Healey, J. F., "The Akkadian "Pantheon" List from Ugarit," *SEL* 2 (1985), pp. 115–125 (120); idem, "The "Pantheon" of Ugarit: Further Notes," *SEL* 5 (1988); pp. 103–112 (108); Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 93–100; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 199; del Olmo Lete suggest that the title *mlkm* in these lists also includes the epithets *ʾinš ʾilm*, *Rpʾum* and *gṯrm*. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 146. Cf also Heider, G. C., *The Cult of Molech: A Reassessment*. JSOT Sup 43 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985), pp. 128–133.

part.[352] Others read *ʾibky*.[353] The images do not support the reading of /ʾi/ over /t/. This scene, of furniture weeping for the memory of its owner, has caused much bewilderment, as Wyatt says: "The idea of throne, stool and table swallowing back their own tears is scarcely a serious option."[354] This option has been also rejected by others, who attempt to identify the weeping figures as the participants of the ceremony, or as *ʿAmmurpʾi* himself.[355] Before rejecting this notion, let us examine this furniture in another mythic context (KTU 1.3, II):

20–21	*tt̲ʿr / ksʾat . lmhr .*	She prepares chairs for the warrior(s)
22	*t̲ʿr . ṯlḫnt / lṣbʾim .*	Prepares tables for the soldiers
	hdmm . lǵzrm	And footstools for the heroes

In this scene the goddess *ʿAnatu* returns to her palace after a battle and treats her warriors with great respect, offering them chairs, tables and footstools, the exact furniture that is mentioned in KTU 1.161:13–16. The terminology of the myth; *mhr* ("warriors") and *ǵzrm* ("heroes") is also found in the texts of the *Rpʾum* and *Aqhatu*, suggesting that the warriors of *ʿAnatu* are probably the *Rpʾum*.[356] These three items are more than just furniture; they symbolize the king as one of the heroes of the gods, maybe specifically of *ʿAnatu*'s, as in KTU 1.22, I, 8–9 and KTU 1.108:6–9. It is unlikely that the scribe of KTU 1.161 was not familiar with the myth found in the work of *ʾIlimilku*, and the two must be linked.

352 Early transcriptions follow Caquot, "Hébreu et araméen": *ʿ/pl*[]*ty*. This includes other words in lines 14–15 as well, as h*dm>tdm*; p*ʿnh>ʿnh*; *mlk>mla*. See Healey, "KTU 1.161," 83–84; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 65; Pope, "Rephaim," 177. See list of corrections in Bordreuil and Pardee, "RS 34.126," 123–125.

353 See Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 650; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 157; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 87; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190; Suriano, "Dynasty Building," 107; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 42.

354 See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 436, note 32; Pardee believes that *Niqmaddu* in line 13 is not the same as the one in lines 12 and 26, who is the successor of *ʿAmmittamru* in previous generations. See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 114, note 125.

355 Cf Pardee, who translates *ʾibky* to "be bewept." See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 87; Also, Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 42; Schmidt sees *ʿAmmurpʾi* as the weeping figure. See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 115; For those who side with the personification of the furniture, see Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 650; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 157; Suriano, "Dynasty Building," 107; Taylor, G., "A First and Last Thing to do in Mourning: KTU 1.161 and Some Parallels," in Eslinger, L. and Taylor, G. (eds.), *Ascribe to the Lord: Biblical & Other Studies in Memory of Peter C. Craigie*. JSOT Sup 67 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), pp. 151–177 (153).

356 Cf KTU 1.22, I, 7; KTU 1.20, II, 8 and more. The furniture is also mentioned in KTU 1.3, I, 36–37.

Furthermore, the verbs in lines 13–17 are all active, suggesting that the sacred objects are indeed personified. If this is a poetic text, which is known for special features such as personification, why should this irk the reader?[357] For example (KTU 1.16, I, 6): *tbkyk . ab . ǵr. bʿl* ("The mountain of *Baʿalu* will weep for you, father"); If a mountain can weep for King *Kirta*, one of the *Rpʾum* and also one of *qbṣ ddn* as *Niqmaddu*, the sacred furniture can weep for the loss of its owner. There is no need to overcomplicate this scene; it should be seen in its poetic and mythic perspective.

Part 5 – Lines 18–26: *Šapšu* orders the *Rpʾum* to descend back to the Underworld: *ʾišḫn* (18) is translated by different etymologies, usually as a verb that derived from Akkadian and Arabic Š-Ḫ-N ("to be hot, burn, to have fever," imperative with prosthetic *ʾi*, maybe N-stem), or by Hebrew Š-Ḫ-Ḫ ("to bow down," with suffix-n), yet this is not certain.[358] As suggested above regarding the word *ẓlm* (line 1), this memorial ceremony was probably conducted before sunset, and the idea of pleading to the sun to keep its warm light on the world and to hold back the darkness seems more appropriate here.

Šapšu, the solar deity, also appears at the end of the myth of *Baʿalu* in the context of the *Rpʾum* (KTU 1.6, VI, 45–53). *Šapšu* is the only representative of the main Pantheon in KTU 1.161, and she has a short monologue in which she orders the dead to return to their place in the underworld once the lament is over. The sun goddess plays various roles in Ugaritic myth, and one of them might be a psychopompos one.[359] This position enables her to escort the dead back to their place, although it should be noted that she takes no part in raising them from the Underworld at the beginning of the ritual. *Šapšu* might be connected with the Underworld in some way, but not specifically with the *Rpʾum*

357 Cf Watson, W. G. E., C*lassical Hebrew Poetry, A Guide to its Techniques*. JSOT Sup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984), p. 270.

358 For imperative of Š-Ḫ-N see Healey, "KTU 1.161," 84–85; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 159; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 88; Pope, "Rephaim," 178; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190; Suriano, "Dynasty Building," 109; Taylor, "KTU 1.161," 153; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 43. For 1st person of Š-Ḫ-N see Dietrich and Loretz, "KTU 1.161," 24 ("I will heat"); For Š-Ḫ-Ḫ, see discussion in Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 71; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 117 ("I bow down"); Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 437, note 34.

359 For a few studies which focus on *Šapšu*, see Caquot, A., "La divinité solaire ougaritique," *Syria* 36 (1959), pp. 90–101; Healey, J. F., "The Sun Deity and the Underworld. Mesopotamia and Ugarit," in Alster, B. (ed.), *Death in Mesopotamia* (Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag, 1980), pp. 239–242; Husser, J. M., "Shapash psychopompe et le pseudo hymne au soleil (KTU 1.6 vi 42–53)," *UF* 29 (1997), pp. 227–244; Wikander, O., *Drought, death and the Sun in Ugarit and Ancient Israel: A Philological and Comparative Study* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 2014).

as explained above (§2.4). The *Rp'um* are affiliated with other main deities in the Pantheon, not a specific one, and *Šapšu* might just have a balancing role here, of bringing the world back to order, as in KTU 1.6, VI, 45–53.

ʿln . špš . tsḥ (19) – Most translate *ʿln* as "high," "above" and so on. This highlights the contrast between the Underworld below and the sky above. This is also consistent with *Šapšu*'s part in one of the scenes in the myth of *Baʿalu* (KTU 1.6, I, 6–18), where *Šapšu* cries out, weeping and mourning for the dead god. Once again, as in lines 13–17, the scribe creates a connection between the royalty and the *Baʿalu* myth.[360]

Lines 20–22 have been much debated. *ʾaṯr* – Most translate as the preposition "after."[361] *ks*'i – Earlier transcripts read *ksh* ("his throne").[362] The tablet is partially fractured at this point. The images do reveal the tip of a vertical wedge at the bottom of the sign, which supports the reading of *ksʾi* over *ksh*. The main problem in this section revolves around the identification of what or who is lowered into the ground. Tsumura summed up this matter, dividing the opinions into groups.[363] The main suggestions are: 1) *Niqmaddu*: If this ritual is a funeral, it makes sense that *Niqmaddu* would be placed among his ancestors after they have been invoked to escort him to the Underworld. *bʿlk* being the "lords" of the dead king, his ancestors who ruled before him, or maybe a specific one;[364] 2) the throne: Since the focus in lines 13–17 is on the personified sacred furniture of the hero-king, continuing this notion would be logical, so the ordering of the throne to descend into the ground after its owner does not seem illogical, especially in light of the importance of the symbol of the throne in myth and ritual.[365] Wyatt mentions that Ugaritic tombs are not large enough to contain royal furniture as are Egyptian tombs.[366] This fact should

360 According to Schmidt, "a portrayal of the sun goddess as calling out seems out of place." He translates *ʿln* as "lift me up" and *tsḥ* as "shine." See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 117; Again, we have an example of *Šapšu* calling out in myth, so I do not find a problem here.

361 Other possibilities: "the shrine," see L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; "The place," see Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 66.

362 Or "his cup," cf Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 66; Pope, "Rephaim," 178.

363 The throne, *Niqmaddu* or *ʿAmmurpʾi*. See Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 44–45.

364 See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 88; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 47; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 29.

365 See Healey, "KTU 1.161," 84–85; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 159; Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 118; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 190; Taylor, "KTU 1.161," 153; On the iconography of thrones, see Ornan, T., "The Long Life of a Dead King: A Bronze Statue from Hazor in Its Ancient Near Eastern Context," *BASOR* 366 (2012), pp. 1–24; There are also many nice examples of buried thrones and footstools in Ancient Egypt. Scott suggests that the "seats or thrones were apparently purely symbolic," see Scott, N., "Our Egyptian Furniture," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 24 (1965), pp. 129–150 (134).

366 See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 438, note 29; See examples of Egyptian thrones and chairs in Killen, G., *Ancient Egyptian Furniture Volume I: 4000–1300 BC* (Oxford: Oxbow books, 2017); Scott, "Egyptian Furniture."

not detract from the theory in light of small figurines of thrones, seated gods and kings found in tombs and shrines, which might raise the possibility that a symbolic figurine of a seated *Niqmaddu* or a throne is being buried here.[367]

The poetic structure of lines 20–21 reveals a nice example of an expanded colon formula, which is very common in Ugaritic and Biblical texts:[368]

*ʾaṯr . [b]ʿlk .l . ks*ʾi .	After your owner, O throne
ʾaṯr/ bʿlk . ʾarṣ . rd .	After your owner, descend to the ground

For comparison, here are a few examples of this formula in Ugaritic and Biblical poetry:

KTU 1.2, IV, 8–9

ht . ʾibk / bʿlm	Now, your enemy, *Baʿalu*
ht . ibk . tmhṣ	Now, your enemy, you shall smash

KTU 1.10, II, 10–11

tšʾu knp . btlt . ʿn[t]	She raises wing, the Maiden *ʿAnatu*
tšu . knp . wtr . bʿp	She raises wing, and sets off flying

Jud 5:12

Awake, awake, O Devora

Awake, awake, strike up the chant

In each of these examples it is clear that the subject being addressed is found at the end of the first half-line (*Baʿalu*, *ʿAnatu*, Devora) and this is also true regarding the throne in lines 20–21. The /*l*/ in line 20 is definitely a vocative.[369] The personified throne is expected to go down to the Underworld after its owner, which supports the suggestion that this is a symbolic ritual, and the throne also represents the footstool and the table, the hero's furniture, that join king *Niqmaddu* as he returns to his resting place.[370]

The word *ṯḥt* is repeated several times and has been interpreted in several different ways. The most common is a preposition, meaning "under" or

367 See seated figurines in Hawass, Z., "The Khufu Statuette: Is it an Old Kingdom Sculpture?" in Posener-Kriéger, P. (ed.), *Mélanges Gamal Eddin Mokhtar*, Vol 1 (Cairo: Institut Français d'Archéologie Orientale du Caire, 1985), pp. 379–394; Ornan, "Statue from Hazor."

368 See Loewenstamm, S. E., "The Expanded Colon in Ugaritic and Biblical Verse," *JSS* 14 (October 1969), pp. 176–196; See examples in Biblical literature in Ps 92:10; Songs 1:15; Songs 7:1 and more.

369 Cf Singer, A. D., "The Vocative in Ugaritic," *JCS* 2 (1948), pp. 1–10; Not the preposition "from," as suggested by Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 88; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 438.

370 Cf Isa 14:9, for the Rephaim on their thrones in the Underworld.

"below."[371] Other suggested translations are "go down," "among," "at the feet of" and "instead."[372] Cecchini sees *tḥt* as a place, namely the Underworld.[373] In any case, the general meaning is clear; the throne is ordered to descend below until it reaches *Niqmaddu*, its owner. The word *tḥm* in line 26 is probably a scribal error caused by dittography, in which the scribe repeated the word divider after *tḥt*, thus creating the illusion of the letter /*m*/.[374] It is noticeable that *ʾUlkn* and *Trmn* are absent from the list of the descending *Rpʾum*. This might support Schmidt's opinion, that the two are actually alive during the ritual.[375] Yet, this could also be said regarding *Didānu* who is not directly invoked nor ordered to return to the Underworld. The *Rpʾum*'s names were probably handpicked for some reason, but they represent a general group of *Rpʾum*, so it seems that *ʾUlkn* and *Trmn* were skipped over. Once again, the scribe creates a separation between the ancient *Rpʾum* and the recent ones, *ʿAmmittamru* and *Niqmaddu*.

Part 6 – Lines 27–30: Seven offerings are being given: This section describes seven sacrifices (*ṯʿy*),[376] which are being given according to the title of the document (*spr . dbḥ . ẓlm*: "The document of the Twilight sacrifice"). Spronk sees a correlation between the number of *Rpʾum* mentioned in the text and the number of offerings, although there is not a consensus regarding the number of living and dead *Rpʾum* in this text.[377] In my view, the typological number seven has nothing to do with the number of *Rpʾum* here.[378] Evidently, the number of *Rpʾum* who are being invoked does not match the number that descend back to earth; they represent a larger group of the ancient *Rpʾum*. ʿṣr – Most translate as "bird" offering. Some create a construct with the next word *ʿṣr šlm* as a sacrifice of well-being, similar to Biblical *šᵉlāmīm*.[379] Yet, this suggested construct

371 See Dietrich and Loretz, "KTU 1.161," 24; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; *DUL*, 852–854; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 88; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 191; Taylor, "KTU 1.161," 153.

372 Respectively Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 108; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 159; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; Suriano, "Dynasty Building," 113–115.

373 Cf S. M. Cecchini, "tḥt in KAI 2,3 e in KTU 1.161:22ss," *UF* 13 (1981), pp. 27–31 (31); del Olmo Lete also accepts it as an alternative option. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 159, note 77.

374 As suggested by Schmidt, who reads *tḥm* as "remain warm." See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 120.

375 See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 105.

376 Cf *DUL*, 881. For more on the title *ṯʿy* see del Olmo Lete, G., "Ug. *ṯʿ. ṯʿy. ṯʿt*: Nombre Divino y Acción Cultual," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 27–33; van Soldt, W. H., "The Title *tʿy*," *UF* 20 (1988), pp. 313–321.

377 Cf Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 193; See the discussion in Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 440, note 46.

378 Pope sees this as a seven-day sacrifice. See Pope, "Rephaim." 181.

379 Cf Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 115, note 130; Pope, "Rephaim," 178; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 43.

breaks the typological sevenfold repetition of *šlm* in the last part of the text (lines 31–34), and so it should be read separately. According to del Olmo Lete, each one of the individuals sacrifices a bird, and thus the bird is not an eighth sacrifice.[380] This seems correct, since an eighth offering breaks the formulaic structure of seven sacrifices.

Part 7 – Lines 31–34: blessings to *ʿAmmurpʾi*, the queen and the city of Ugarit: *ʿmr*[pʾi] – In his search for a god named *Rpʾu*, Parker lists names with the theophoric element *Rpʾu* and includes *ʿmrpʾi* as one of them (see §2.7).[381] It is generally agreed that the names *ʿmrpʾi* and *Ḫammurabi* are variants of an earlier West-Semitic name, probably Amorite.[382] *Ḫammurapi* is the name of several known kings from kingdoms nearby Ugarit such as Babylon and Yamhad.[383] The etymology of the name *Ḫammurapi* has puzzled many scholars, who have tried to establish its meaning and to determine whether the name carries a theophoric element as well.[384] It seems to me that the second part of the name *ʿmrpʾi* (*rpʾi*) represent the concept of *Rpʾum*, as explained below in the discussion of text KTU 1.108 (§2.7). All Ugaritic kings are considered to be *Rpʾum*, descendants of the gods, in life and death. KTU 1.161 highlights this even further, putting *ʿAmmurpʾi* at the end of an acclaimed lineage of *Rpʾum*

380 Cf del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 160, note 78. Schmidt rejects the concept of bird offering and translates *ʿṣr* by Biblical *ʿaṣeret*, as a "sacred assembly" that concludes this ritual. See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 120.

381 Cf Parker, S. B., "The Ugaritic Deity Rāpiʾu," *UF* 4 (1972), pp 97–104 (99); Also, de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 328–329.

382 Cf Oppenheim, A. L., "Hammurabi," EB vol 3 (1965), pp. 171–181 (171–172); See a list of Amorite theophoric names with R-P-ʾ element in Huffmon, H. B., *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 263–264.

383 See an example of *Ḫammurapi* in the letter K.552 in Harper, R. F., *Assyrian and Babylonian Letters Belonging to the Kouyunjik Collection of the British Museum* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1902), p. 257.

384 For example, Prince translates the name as "great ruler." See Prince, J. D., "The Code of Hammurabi," *AJT* 8 (1904), pp. 601–609 (602, note 4); Luckenbill translates *ʿm* as "people" and *rpʾi* by Hebrew רוח ("wide, airy"). See Luckenbill, D. D., "The Name Hammurabi," *JAOS* 37 (1917), pp. 250–253 (253); And followed by Albright, W. F., "The Amorite Form of the Name Ḫammurabi," *AJSLL* 38 (1922), pp. 140–141; All reject the interpretation of *Ḫammu* as a theophoric element. Cf also Malamat, A., "A Recently Discovered Word for 'Clan' in Mari and its Hebrew Cognate," in Zevit, Z., Gitin, S. and Sokoloff, M. (eds.), Solving Riddles and Untying Knots: Biblical, Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 177–180 (177); According to Oppenheim, the first part of the name must represent a deity. See Oppenheim, "Hammurabi," 171.

(Ugaritic "lineage" = *ʿm* + *rpʾi* = "(of the) Rephai"),[385] and this probably explains the meaning of his name.[386]

bth (line 32) – The letter /*t*/ resembles /*a*/, but comparing this word with the formula in these lines ("peace to x and peace to x's house"), it is safe to assume that *bth* is the correct reading.[387] [*t̲*]ry[l] – Some restore to [a]ry[h] ("friends," "kinsmen").[388] The letter /*t̲*/ is illegible, but the letter /*l*/ can be restored by its wide upper part. Some identify *t̲ryl* as the name of a queen, possibly *Šarelli*, which appears in Ugaritic syllabic texts. Whether she is *ʿAmmurpʾi*'s wife, sister, mother or grandmother has not yet been determined.[389]

Conclusion of KTU 1.161: This text combines aspects of myth, history and cult with contemporary monarchy in ancient Ugarit. It reveals the importance of connecting the present royal house to a divine lineage of ancient times, placing all the *Rpʾum* as a group of privileged individuals who hold key positions in society, mostly leaders, warriors and kings. They assemble to lament over one of their own, after being invoked by the living king *ʿAmmurpʾi*. The text introduces us to some unfamiliar members of the *Rpʾum* who may also be kings. Most of the text is composed of repetitions, one of the main characteristics of poetry. If we put aside the long repetitions in lines 2–12 and 22b–34, we see the focus of this ritual and the reason for the assembly of the *Rpʾum*; the burying of the personified furniture, the objects that identify *Niqmaddu* as one of the honorable warriors of myth. It is not a coronation, but a ritual that must have come after the funeral, while *Niqmaddu* already inhabits the Underworld, since he is invoked like all others.

KTU 1.161 is a good example that shows the transformation of the *Rpʾum*, from myth and history, to a united group in the Underworld. Some use this text to establish that the *Rpʾum* are deified only postmortem, and become minor gods or spirits. However, the fact that KTU 1.161 is the only Ugaritic text that mentions the dead Rephaim, as well as the connection between KTU 1.161, *Didānu*, *Kirta* and the rest of the *Rpʾum*, tell us a different story of divine men

385 Cf *DUL*, 160.

386 Since the name *Ḫammurapi* has very early roots in the ancient Near Eastern cultures, it may imply that the tradition of the concept of *Rpʾum* is much earlier than the Amorite culture, as suggested by the affiliation with *Didānu*.

387 Some read as *bnh* ("son" or "sons"). See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 66; Pope, "Rephaim," 178; Suriano, "Dynasty Building," 110; Tsumura, "Text KTU 1.161," 43; Cf this formula in 1 Sam 25:6.

388 Cf Healey, "KTU 1.161," 85; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 188; de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 334; Pitard, "Ugaritic Funerary Text," 66; Pope, "Rephaim," 178; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 440, note 51.

389 For more of *Šarelli*, see Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 115, note 133; Singer, *HUS*, 690–691; Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 653.

of old, who were invoked from the Underworld for a specific reason, and do not have a chthonic function in general. The ritual probably takes place before sundown. It is still questionable if *Šapšu*'s position is to serve the living, the dead or both. The new king, *ʿAmmurpʾi*, is depicted without impressive epithets, or even the title *mlk* ("king"). The public ceremony honors the *Rpʾum* who preceded him, and places him as the most important living member of *Rpʾum* in the kingdom.

2.7 A Song for a New King (KTU 1.108)

This text is another example that combines the concept of monarchy with the myth of the *Rpʾum*, similar to previous examples. It was found in 1961 in the southern part of Ras Shamra in a place known as the "house of the priest with the liver and lungs models."[390] The tablet (RS 24.252, height: 14.2 cm, width: 16.6 cm) is partially fractured, but fortunately, the surviving text is clearly legible. Horizontal lines are engraved on each facet of the tablet, and the text is written between them, a phenomenon known from other tablets as well.[391] It was first published by Ch. Virolleaud who gave it the title "Le dieu Rpu, roi du monde et son entourage."[392] It is addressed as "a hymnic prayer," "a royal liturgy for the dead," "a divine drinking rite" and so on.[393] Some link it with the *mrzḥ* institution, the Ugaritic New Year festival, a ritual of necromancy and more.[394] It has also been connected with various other texts from myth and cult, such

390 Cf Pardee, D., *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24 e campagne (1961)*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit IV (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988), p. 75; Bordreuil, P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), p. 300; Damascus Museum catalogue number: DO 6594.

391 Cf KTU 1.13; KTU 1.101; KTU 1.117; KTU 1.119; KTU 2.47. Wyatt suggests it might be a scribal exercise. See Wyatt, N., *Religious Texts from Ugarit: The Words of Ilimilku and His Colleagues*. 2nd Edition (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), p. 395.

392 See PRU V, 551–557. It is first mentioned in Virolleaud, Ch., "Les nouveaux textes mythologiques de Ras Shamra." *CRSAIBL 106* (1962), pp. 105–113 (109–110).

393 Cf respectively Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 396; del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by Watson. W. G. E., AOAT 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), p. 149; Pardee, D., *Ritual and Cult in Ugarit* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2002), p. 192.

394 Cf respectively, Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 193; Dietrich, M., Loretz, O. and Sanmartín, J., "Der 'Neujahrspsalm' Rs 24.252 (= UG. 5, S. 551–557, Nr. 2)," *UF* 7 (1975), pp. 115–119 (119); Spronk, *HUS*, 284. Some link it to *ʿAnatu*'s offer for *Aqhatu* to gain his bow in KTU 1.17, VI, 25–33, in discussions of the nature of immortality. Cf Healey, J. F., "The Immortality of the King: Ugarit and the Psalms," *Orientalia* 53, *Memorial Mitchell J. Dahood* (1984), pp. 245–254 (247); Parker, S. B., "The Feast of Rāpiʾu," *UF* 2 (1970), pp. 243–249 (249).

as KTU 1.113, which also addresses royalty and shares some terminology with KTU 1.108.[395]

The text is definitely poetic in style, and is even called "a Ugaritic psalm" by B. Margulis, who compares it to Biblical poetry.[396] On the other hand, M. Dijkstra finds more prose than poetry in the text and calls it "a hymnic prose with occasional parallelism."[397] The main debate of KTU 1.108 revolves around the identity of *rpʾu . mlk . ʿlm* ("*Rpʾu* king of eternity"). The assembly of *rpʾi ʾarṣ* ("*Rpʾum* of the land") appear here (lines 23–24) as well as in the Story of King *Kirta* (KTU 1.15, III, 3 and 14) and KTU 1.161:9. The event that is described is joyful, accompanied with wine, music and singing, divine visits and blessings. The text has no clear plotline, which separates it from pure myth, and yet it is hard to categorize it as a ritual, seated in Ugaritic liturgy. And so, a "hymn" or a "song" in honor of the new king, the *Rpʾu*, is the most appropriate way to describe this text, as I explain below.

Obverse

1	[hl]*n . yšt . rpʾu . mlk . ʿlm .*	Now, may he drink, *Rpʾu* king of eternity
1–2	*wyšt*/ [ap . gt]*r . wyqr .*	And may he drink, the strong and appraised one as well
	ʾil . yṯb . bʿṯtrt	*ʾIlu* sits in *ʿṯtrt*
3	[ʾi]l *ṯp ẓ . bhdrʿy .*	[ʾI]*lu* rules in *Hdrʿy*
	dyšr . wyḏmr	Who will sing and chant
4	*bknr . wṯlb .*	Along lyre and flute
	btp . wmṣltm .	Along tambourine and cymbals
4–5	*bm*/*rqdm . dšn .*	Along castanets of ivory
	bḥbr . kṯr .ẓ bm	with the good companion of *Kotharu*
6	*wtšt . ʿnt . gṯr .*	And she will drink, *ʿAnatu* of might
	bʿlt . mlk .	The lady of kingship
6–7	*bʿ*/*lt . drkt .*	The lady of dominion
	bʿlt . šmm . rmm	The lady of high heavens
8	[bʿl]*t . kpṯ .*	The lady of the royal cap
	wʿnt . dʾi . dʾit . rḫpt	And *ʿAnatu* flew (?), hovered
9	[...]*rm . aklt . ʿgl* ʾi*l . mšt*	... she ate veal ... *ʾIlu* ... drink(?)
10	[...]*r . špr . wyšt . ʾil*	... and he will drink, *ʾIlu*
11	[...]*n . ʾil ǵnṯ . ʿgl ʾil*	...*ʾIlu* ... sucked(?) veal ... *ʾIlu*

395 Cf Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O., "Baal rpu in KTU 1.108 1.113 und nach 1.17 VI 25–33," *UF* 12 (1980) pp. 171–179.

396 Cf Margulis, B., "A Ugaritic Psalm (RŠ 24.252)," *JBL* 89 (1970), pp. 292–304.

397 See Dijkstra, *HUS*, 161.

12	[...]*d . ʾil . šdyṣd mlk*	...*ʾIlu* ... field(?) hunt (?) king
13	[...] *. yšt . ʾilh*	... He will drink ... his god(?)
14	[...]ʾiṯmh	...
15	[r]š[p]	[Ra]sh[pu]?
Reverse		
16	[...]mǵy	... arrives(?)
17	[...]*drh*	...
18	[...]*rš . lbʿl*	...[requ]est of *Baʿalu*
19–20	[...]mǵ*k . rpʾu mlk* [ʿlm]	... bring you(?), *Rpʾu* king of [eternity]
20–21	[...]k . *ltštk . lʾiršt*[k]	... for your confidence(?), [your] request
21	[...]*rpʾi . mlk ʿlm .*	... *Rpʾi* king of eternity
21–22	*bʿz*/ [rpʾi .]m*lk . ʿlm .*	With strength, [*Rpʾi*] king of eternity
22–23	*bḏmr*h . *bl*/ [ʾanh]	With his power, with his m[ight]
23	*bḥtkh . bnmrth .*	With his sovereignty, with his splendor
23–24	*lr*/[pʾi] . *ʾarṣ . ʿzk .*	From the *R*[*pʾum*] of the land is your strength
24–25	*ḏmrk . lʾa*/*nk .*	Your power, your might
25	*ḥtkk . nmrtk .*	Your sovereignty, your splendor
25–26	*btk*/ *ʾugrt .*	In the midst of Ugarit
26	*ỉymt . špš . wyrḫ*	For the days of the Sun and the Moon
27	*wnʿmt . šnt . ʾil*	And for the pleasant years of *ʾIlu*

Epigraphic and philological notes: The visible parts of the text can be divided into several units:

Lines 1–5: [hl]*n*- The space of the lacuna is sufficient for two letters.[398] *rpʾu . mlk . ʿlm* – This character is obviously the subject of the text, and once more, we see that the concepts of royalty and the *Rpʾum* are linked, as in most texts mentioned above. At first, this character was identified by Virolleaud as *ʾIlu*, head of the Ugaritic pantheon.[399] This idea is supported by comparison to

398 Other suggestions such as [aph]*n*, [ap]*n*, [y]*n* are usually rejected. Cf Caquot, A., "La tablette RS 24.252 et la question des Rephaïm ougaritiques," *Syria* 53 (1976), pp. 295–304 (299); Pardee, D., *Les textes para-mythologiques de la 24 e campagne (1961)*, Ras Shamra-Ougarit IV (Paris: Editions Recherche sur les civilisations, 1988), p. 83. Latest studies agree on restoration of [hl]*n.* See KTU; del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit*. Translated by Watson. W. G. E., AOAT 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), p. 150; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 193.

399 Cf also Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 551; also L'Heureux, C. E., *Rank among the Canaanite Gods: El, Baʿal, and the Repha'im* (Missoula, MT: Scholars Press, 1979), pp. 186–187; Levine, B. A. and de Tarragon, J., "Dead Kings and Rephaim: The Patrons of the Ugaritic Dynasty," *JAOS* 104 (1984), pp. 649–659 (656); Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in

Biblical texts where God is characterized as an everlasting king.[400] In Ugaritic myth, *ʾIlu* is also addressed as *ab šnm* ("father of years"), as a metaphor for his eternal existence.[401] He is mentioned again, at the end of this text as everlasting (KTU 1.108, 27). *ʾIlu* is also connected with the banquet of the *Rpʾum* in KTU 1.20–1.22, which makes him a strong candidate for *Rpʾu* in this text. Others identify *Rpʾu* as the god *Baʿalu*, comparing it to *rpʾu bʿl* in KTU 1.22, I, 8–9, which is discussed above.[402] This interpretation sees the god *Baʿalu* as the protector of Ugarit. He is also expected to establish his everlasting kingdom in myth while battling the god *Yammu*.[403] However, as explained regarding KTU 1.22, I, there is insufficient evidence to support the idea that *Baʿalu* is one of the *Rpʾum*, or in the existence of a deity named *Rpʾu Bʿl*, which should be translated as the "*Rpʾu* of *Baʿalu*". A. Caquot sees *Rpʾu* as a leader of the *Rpʾum* and carefully suggests that he has much in common with *Dtn*/*Ddn*, as the deified head of the Ugaritic dynasty.[404] Another identification of *Rpʾu* was made by G. del Olmo Lete, who connects between the word *yqr* in KTU 1.108, 2, the words *rpi . yqr* in KTU 1.166, 13–14, and *ʾil yqr* in KTU 1.113, 26, and sees *Rpʾu* as deified *Yaqaru*, one of the oldest known kings in the Ugaritic dynasty.[405] S. B. Parker argues that *Rpʾu* should be identified as an independent deity, as proven by theophoric data of names that are composed with the divine name *rpʾ*.[406] M. Dietrich and O. Loretz suggest a possible connection between the god *Ršp* and *Rpʾu* and later on, they point out a link between the names, *Rpʾu* and *Hrnmy*, that is affiliated with *Dānʾilu*, as a form of a deity's name.[407] Some compare *Rpʾu* to a

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de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182 (182).

400 Cf Ex 15:18; Jer 10:10; Ps 10:16; 29:10 and more.

401 See KTU 1.6, I, 36.

402 Cf de Moor, J. C., *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 187; Sapin, J., "Quelques systèmes socio-politiques en Syrie au 2e millénaire avant J.-C. et leur évolution historique d'après des documents religieux (légendes, rituels, sanctuaires)," *UF* 15 (1983), pp. 157–190 (179); Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 181.

403 See KTU 1.2, IV, 10.

404 See Caquot, "RS 24.252," 303–304.

405 See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 148–150.

406 See Parker, S. B., "The Ugaritic Deity Rāpiʾu," *UF* 4 (1972), pp 97–104; Cf also Brown who considers *Rpʾu* as a healing deity, similar to Asklepios. See Brown, M. L., "Was There a West Semitic Asklepios?," *UF* 30 (1998), pp. 133–154.

407 Cf KTU 1.20, II, 7–8 as discussed above. See Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 119; Dietich, M. and Loretz, O., "Rāpiʾu und Milku aus Ugarit: Neuere historisch-geographische Thesen zu rpu mlk ʿlm (KTU 1.108:1) und mt rpi (KTU 1.17 I 1)," *UF* 21 (1989), pp. 123–131 (128).

deity named *Mlk* (*Malik*, *Milku*, *Molek*?) that appears in several Ugaritic texts and is associated with a place called *ʿṯtrt*, as *Rpʾu* in KTU 1.108.[408] The deity *Mlk* in Ugaritic and ancient Near Eastern texts is referred to by some as a chthonic deity, associated with the Underworld, the shades of the dead, human sacrifice and more.[409]

Margulis points out the amazing resemblance of the places mentioned in lines 2–3, *ʿṯtrt* and *hdrʿy*, to the cities *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏreʿî*, that are located in the Transjordan northern geographical area, called the *Bāšān* (see fig 5.).[410] They are known as the cities of King *ʿOg*, who is also addressed as "the last of the Rephaim."[411] *hdrʿy* could be a misspelling of *ʾidrʿy*, since the difference between Ugaritic /*h*/ and /*ʾi*/ lies in a small lower vertical wedge that may have been forgotten.[412] The assumption regarding the chthonic nature of the Rephaim, combined with the similarity between KTU 1.108 and the Biblical information regarding *ʿOg* of the *Bāšān*, have created various theories, such as the identification of the *Bāšān* as the Canaanite "hell,"[413] or the cities *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏreʿî*

408 Probably the city *ʿAštārōt* in the *Bāšān*, Cf KTU 1.100, 41; KTU 1.107, 17; KTU 4.790, 17.

409 Cf Pardee, *Textes para-mythologiques*, 87–79; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 205, note 7. For more on the deity *Mlk* (and variations of this name) see Bordreuil, P., "A propos de Milkou, Milqart et Milkʿashtart," *Maarav* 5–6 (1990), pp. 11–21; Heider, G. C., *The Cult of Molech: A Reassessment.* JSOT Sup 43 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1985), p. 127; idem, "Molech," in *DDD* pp. 581–585; Smelik, K. A. D., "Moloch, Molech or Molk-Sacrifice? A Reassessment of the Evidence Concerning the Hebrew Tern Molekh," *SJOT* 9 (1995), pp. 133–142; Weinfeld, M., "The Worship of Molech and of the Queen of Heaven and its Background," *UF* 4 (1972), pp. 133–154; Schmidt, on the other hand, argues that there is no evidence that depicts the Ugaritic *mlk* as a chthonic deity. See Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), p. 97; Van Soldt mentions the difficulty of distinguishing between *mlk*, as a deity, and the Ugaritic word "king" in Ugaritic texts. See van Soldt, W. H., "Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit," in Matoïan, V. and Al-Maqdissi, M. (eds.), *Ras Shamra – Ugarit* 24, *Études ougaritiques* IV (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp. 95–108 (105); Cf also the deity *mlkʿṯtrt* in Phoenician in KAI 19:2–3, KAI 119:1.

410 Cf Bartlett, J. R., "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites," *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 257–277 (265–266). These settlements probably also appear in two Amarna letters; EA 197 and EA 256. The area is located about 270–300 km south of Ugarit.

411 See Margulis, B., "A Ugaritic Psalm (RŠ 24.252)," *JBL* 89 (1970), pp. 292–304 (293–294); Cf Deut 1:4; Josh 12:4; 13:12 and more.

412 Wyatt uses this as evidence that this is a school text. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 396, note 8; Some see *hdrʿy* as two words: *hd rʿy* as "Hadad is a shepherd." See Levine and de Tarragon, "Dead Kings and Rephaim," 656; Parker, "Ugaritic Deity Rāpi'u," 243; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 156; Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 551.

413 Cf del Olmo Lete, G., "Bašan o El 'Infierno' Cananeo," *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 51–60.

as a cult center for the dead.[414] Wyatt sees *ʿOg* and *Rpʾu* as deities, and believes that they are one and the same.[415]

This short survey provides a glimpse of the variety of opinions regarding *Rpʾu* in KTU 1.108. So far, this character has been identified as (or affiliated with): *ʾIlu*, *Baʿalu*, *Ditānu*, *Yaqaru*, *Ršp*, *Hrnmy*, *Mlk*, *ʿOg* and an independent Deity. In my view, *Rpʾu* is *none* of these. All evidence (KTU 1.20–1.22, the story of *Kirta*, the legend of *Aqhatu* and KTU 1.161) point to the fact that all kings and rulers were mortal *Rpʾum*, who were presented as descendants of the gods, and so, *Rpʾu* is no other than an epithet of the new monarch of Ugarit, and this song revolves around his coronation. *Rpʾu* is referred to as *mlk . ʿlm* ("eternal king"). The idea of eternal kingship might be a blessing for long life, or a wish for the stability of the royal bloodline. The concept of eternal kingship is well-known. As Healey notes: "The eternity of the king arises from his relationship with God."[416] This is also the case here, when *ʾIlu*, who appears in lines 2–5, attends the joyful banquet. And so, *Rpʾu* and *ʾIlu* are two different characters in this section. *ʾIlu* also appears at the end of the song, with a standard formula of royal blessing wishing the king a long and lasting kingship, eternal as the sun (*Šapšu*), moon (*Yariḫu*) and *ʾIlu*.[417] Everything in this text, from the blessings to the celebration in the presence of the gods and *rpʾiʾ arṣ*, revolves around the coronation of a king, whose identity is unknown.

One of the main arguments used to support the claim of the existence of a deity named *Rpʾu* is its place in theophoric names. Parker lists several examples of personal names (such as *ʿbdrpʾu*, *ʾiilrpʾi*, *bitta-ra-ap-i*, *ʿmrpʾi*) in order to prove the independence of this deity.[418] Based on the assumption that *Rpʾu* is an epithet of *Baʿalu*, de Moor lists theophoric names, written in Ugaritic, Akkadian and Phoenician, that include the name of *Baʿalu*, and then presents an identical list of names, only with word *rpʾ* replacing *bʿl*. For example: *bʿly*/*rpʾiy*, *ʾabbʿl*/*ʾabrpʾu* and so on.[419]

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414 Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 187, note 3.

415 Cf Wyatt, N., *The Archaeology of Myth: Papers on Old Testament Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 50.

416 See Healey, "Immortality," 253. Examples: *mlk . ʿlm*, in the correspondence in KTU 2.42, 9; *zērum darium ša šarrūtim* ("descendant of an eternal royal bloodline"), see CAD D, 116; In Biblical literature cf 2 Sam 7:13,6; 1 Kgs 1:31; 2 Kgs 2:45.

417 Cf Theuer, G., *Der Mondgott in den Religionen Syrien-Palästinas: unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von KTU 1.24*. Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 173 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2000), pp. 94–95.

418 See Parker, "Ugaritic Deity Rāpiʾu," 98–99.

419 See de Moor, *Anthology*, 328.

The most recent survey of theophoric names in Ugarit was conducted by W. H. van Soldt.[420] This study reveals much about the importance of deities from the people's point of view. Naturally, the first two places in the list belong to *ʾIlu*, and *Baʿalu*. It is interesting to note that out of 47 deities mentioned in this study, the *r-p-ʾ* element takes 7th place. It is even more popular than known gods such as *Yariḫu* (9th place), *ʿAnatu* (15th place) and *Kotharu* (17th place). The god *Mlk*, who some recognize as *Rpʾu*, takes 27th place, and there is no mention of characters such as *Ditānu* or *Yaqaru*. Thus, if they were relatively insignificant to the citizens, it is doubtful that KTU 1.108 refers to either of them, or that the scribe preferred using an epithet instead of the actual deity's name.[421] *Rpʾu* is referred to as a deity according to theophoric names, yet there is not a single source, besides KTU 1.108, that mentions this deity. On the other hand, there is plentiful evidence that links the *Rpʾum* to royalty. The importance of *Rpʾu* for the people of the kingdom, and the fact that he is not mentioned in myths and deity lists all lead to the conclusion that *Rpʾu . mlk . ʿlm* is a divine epithet for the current king of Ugarit, and the theophoric names that include the *Rpʾu* element are probably a tribute to the divine monarchy or to the idea of the *Rpʾum*.[422]

Virolleaud suggests the restoration of *ʾil* at the beginning of line 2, and this is accepted by most scholars, even though it is based on the assumption that *Rpʾu* is *ʾIlu*.[423] Since *ʾIlu* does appear in lines 2–3, it seems appropriate to restore the text in the lacuna in order to differentiate *Rpʾu* from *ʾIlu*, and so I suggest a restoration such as *yšt . rpʾu . mlk . ʿlm . yšt*/ [ap . gṯ]*r . wyqr* ("may he drink, *Rpʾu* king of eternity/ and may he also drink, the strong and appraised.").[424] *gṯr* should be translated according to Akkadian *gašru* ("strong"),[425] and *yqr* according to Hebrew יקר ("appraised," "glorious," "honored"). Since *Rpʾu* is the

420 See van Soldt, "Personal Names."

421 Van Soldt mentions 17 uncertain occurrences of *Mlk*, where it is unclear if the translation means "king" or the deity's name, but even if half of the names do refer to the deity, it would still place it in a lower part of the list. See van Soldt, "Personal Names," 101.

422 For names of kings in personal names, see Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 306–307.

423 See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 551.

424 Bordreuil and Caquot see *gṯr . wyqr* as two members of the *Rpʾum*. See Bordreuil P. and Caquot, A., "Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1977 à Ibn Hani," *Syria* 56 (1979), pp. 295–315 (303). According to de Moor, *gṯr . wyqr* is a double name of a deity. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 187, note 2; Cf also Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 177. Cf KTU 1.43, 15, for a possible appearance of *gṯr* as an independent deity. L'Heureux translates as "aged and rare wine" by Syrian etymology. See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 171.

425 See CAD G, 56.

new king of Ugarit, it makes sense that he needs the acknowledgement of *ʾIlu*. Furthermore, the importance of *ʾIlu* is seen when he is the deity that opens and closes this text.

The bicolon in lines 2–3 creates a parallel between *yṯb*//*ṯpẓ* ("dwells," "sits"//"rules," "judges").[426] It is clear from the text that the geographical focus of the poem is on Ugarit (line 25–26), yet it *does* mention the settlements *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏrēʿî*. L'Heureux finds this puzzling: "It is highly unlikely, however, that the first mythological text which mentions the city of Ugarit would concern a god who is found in the Bashan!"[427] The cities *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏrēʿî* are not the main concern of the text; they are used as synonyms to describe another area; the *Bāšān*, as in Biblical literature.[428] But for what purpose? The answer lies in the Biblical text that preserves an ancient tradition, in which God, who is usually compared to *ʾIlu*,[429] dwelled in the *Bāšān* prior to establishing his home in Mount Zion (Ps 68:16–17, 23):

> 16–17: *A mountain of God is the mountain of Bāšān; a mountain of peaks is the mountain of Bāšān. Why so hostile, O mountains of peaks, toward the mountain that God desired as His dwelling? God shall dwell there forever …*
> 23: *God said, I will retrieve from Bāšān….*

According to A. Rofé, one of Ps 68 purposes is to deal with old mythic traditions of the place of origin of God, and to establish a new tradition of the Mountain of

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426 *ṯpẓ* – An allophonic version of *ṯpṭ*, see DUL, 912–913; The letter /ẓ/ in KTU 1.108 (lines 2, 5) presents a special feature: two horizontal wedges point at each other, and a small vertical wedge below. This graphic phenomenon is discussed thoroughly in Freilich, D. and Pardee, D., "(ẓ) and (ṭ) in Ugaritic: A Re-examination of the Sign-forms," *Syria* 61 (1984), pp. 25–36, who come to the conclusion that this specific sign should not be mistaken for any letter but /ẓ/ (p. 29). The same unique feature of the letter /ẓ/ is found in KTU 1.101, 12, a tablet that bears much resemblance to KTU 1.108. The letters /ẓ/ and /ṭ/ do differ from each other in KTU 1.101, and so I agree with the reading of /ẓ/ in KTU 1.108. Nevertheless, since this text might have been dictated to an unprofessional scribe, it is possible that these are phonetical errors. Cf Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "A Trainee and a Skilled Ugaritic Scribe – KTU 1.12 and KTU 1.4," *ANES* 50 (2013), pp. 237–242 (238); The word-pair "dwells," "sits"//"rules," "judges," is also known from Biblical literature. Cf Isa 16:5; Ps 9:8; 122:5 and more.

427 See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 173.

428 See Josh 12:4; Josh 13:11. There should be no confusion between Ugaritic *bṯn* ("snake, serpent"), and *Bāšān* as suggested by Fensham, F. C., "Ps. 68:23 in the Light of the Recently Discovered Ugaritic Tablets," *JNES* 19 (1960), pp. 292–293, in light of Ps 68.

429 Cf Day, J., *Yahweh and the Gods and Goddesses of Canaan*, JSOT Sup 265, (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2002), pp. 13–41; Eissfeldt, O., "El and Jahweh," *JSS* 1 (1956), pp. 25–37.

God in Jerusalem as his eternal home.[430] This old tradition, of Biblical *ʾĒl* who dwells in the *Bāšān* fits with the dwelling of *ʾIlu* in the same location.[431] This is also a key to unlocking the mystery regarding the Biblical Rephaim who originate from the same area, and the need to eliminate them and the memory of the *Bāšān* as the dwelling place of God, as discussed below (§4.4.1.4). *ʾIlu*'s acknowledgment of the new king of Ugarit is reflected in his participation in the banquet, as he sings along with the musicians of *Kotharu* (lines 3b–5). *dyšr . wyḏmr* – The use of words which have a double meaning is well attested in Ugaritic and Biblical poetry.[432] In this case we find Ugaritic *Ḏ-M-R*: 1) "to sing, to chant"; 2) "to guard, to protect";[433] next to *Š-R*: 1) "to sing"; 2) "to empower.".[434] On one hand, *ʾIlu* sings and chants and on the other, he protects and empowers the new king or the kingdom.[435]

A few musical instruments are presented in lines 4–5, creating the impression of a large group of musicians accompanying the singing:[436] *knr* ("lyre"); *ṯlb* ("flute"); *tp* ("tambourine"); *mṣltm* ("cymbals"); *mrqdm dšn* ("castanets of ivory"?).[437] *bḥbr . kṯr . ẓbm* ("with the good companion of *Kotharu*") – It

430 Cf Rofé, A., *Introduction to the Literature of the Hebrew Bible* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 2006), p. 329. This includes the tradition of the origin of God in Edom, as implied in Jud 5:4, which echoes in Ps 68:8–9.

431 The Ugaritic gods are located in broad geographic areas, mythical and real, as described in texts KTU 1.100, KTU 1.107 and other places.

432 Cf Paul, Sh., "Polysensous Polyvalency in Poetic Parallelism," in Fishbane, M., et al. (eds.), *"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 147–163; Tsumura, D. T., "Janus Parallelism in Nah 1:8," *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 109–11; Watson, W. G. E., *Classical Hebrew Poetry, A Guide to its Techniques*. JSOT Sup 26 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1984), pp. 241–242 (as "polysemantic pun"); Yona, Sh., *The Many Faces of Repetition: Basic Patterns of Repetition in Construct-State Expressions in Biblical, Post-Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Rhetoric* (Beer-Sheba: Ben Gurion University, 2013), pp. 84–85.

433 See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 205, note 8.

434 Based on Hebrew שׂרה, cf Gen 32:29. Probably close to Ugaritic *šr* ("prince, sovereign"). Cf *DUL*, 829.

435 The figure of singing gods is familiar, and mostly tied to joyous occasions and celebrations, cf KTU 1.3, I, 18–22; KTU 1.3, III, 5–6. In Biblical literature cf Zeph 3:17; Job 38:7.

436 Each half-line opens with the letter /*b*/, which presents a nice example of an opening alliteration. Cf Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "Opening Alliteration in Biblical and Ugaritic Poetry," *ZAW* 127 (2015), pp. 108–113; Cf similar instruments in 1 Sam 10:5; Isa 5:12; Ps 150.

437 Maqtal or maqtil dual form. Cf Sivan, D., *A Grammar of the Ugaritic Language* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2001), p. 72; Also, del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 396. Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 553, translates *mrqdm* as "dancers" by Hebrew and Akkadian R-Q-D ("to dance"). Cf also L'Heureux, who translates *dšn* by Hebrew דשׁן ("fat"), and the construct to "plump dancers." See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 175. Others translate as "anointed dancers," cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 188; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178.

seems appropriate to see the skillful god of craft and craftsmen as the deity who is also the patron of musicians, since creating a wonderful bow for *Dān'ilu* is not far from creating a lyre.[438] *ẓbm*(<*ṭbm*) – As in the case of *ṯpẓ* (line 3), this systematical deviation might be the result of a phonetic error caused by poor dictation of the text.

Lines 6–9: These lines are mostly dedicated to the goddess *'Anatu*, who has already been associated with the *Rp'um*, warriors and kings on several occasions. This might suggest her appearance is necessary in order to empower warrior-kings, especially in a coronation banquet such as this.[439] *wtšt . ʿnt . gṯr* – Virolleaud corrects to *gṯr*<t> as the fem. adjective "strong."[440] This can also be translated as "*'Anatu* of strength/power/might."[441] The scribe creates a clear parallel between the goddess and *Rp'u*, who is also described as *gṯr* (line 2), as if to say: the king is as strong as the goddess, the patron (*bʿlt*) of his monarchy. *mlk*//*drkt* ("kingship"//"dominion") is a known Ugaritic word-pair, combined with the anaphoric repetition of *bʿlt* shows the poetic inspiration from other mythological texts.[442]

bʿlt . šmm . rmm ("lady of the high heavens") – The phrase *šmm . rmm* is found in Phoenician text KAI 15, and is also echoed in KAI 14:16 (*ʿštrt šmm 'adrm*; "*'Aštoret* of great heavens"), both addressing Phoenician Sidon. Some interpret this as an elevated part of the city, where the temples were located.[443] The Phoenician and Ugaritic identification of the phrase do not have to be

438 Cf also de Moor, *Anthology*, 188; Brown, J. P., "Kothar, Kinyras, and Kythereia", *JSS* 10 (1965), pp. 197–219; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 115; Parker, "Feast of Rāpi'u," 244; Caquot translates *ḫbr* by Akkadian *habâru* as "making noise." See Caquot, "RS 24.252," 300; Margulis (1970:294) translates this line as: "pours spirits (*dšn*) from vat (*ḫbr*)." See Margulis, "Ugaritic Psalm," 294. del Olmo Lete sees *ḫbr* as a music instrument. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151.

439 Cf KTU 1.22, I, 8–9; II, 7–8; KTU 1.18, IV, 6;27; KTU 1.3, II, 20–22; KTU 1.168, 8. Cf Jirku, A., "Rapa'u, de Fürst der Rapa'uma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 77 (1965), pp. 82–83.

440 See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 555.

441 Cf Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 116; Pardee, *Textes para-mythologiques*, 101; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 396; According to del Olmo Lete, *'Anatu* also establishes the deity *gṯr*. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151; L'Heureux reads *gṯr* as in line 2: "Anat drank aged wine." See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 170.

442 Cf KTU 1.2, IV, 10; KTU 1.3, IV, 2–3; KTU 1.4, VII, 43–44; KTU 1.6, V, 6. For more on poetic studies in Ugaritic curriculum, see Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "A Poetic Letter: The Ugaritic Tablet RS 16.265," *SEL* 31 (2014), pp. 49–56.

443 Cf Eissfeldt, O., "Schamemrumim 'Hoher Himmel,' ein Stadtteil von Gross-Sidon," *Kleine Schriften* II (Tübingen: Paul Siebeck, 1962), pp. 123–126; Avishur, in light of KTU 1.108, suggests that the phrase was an epithet of the goddess *'Aštoret*, and then later turned into the name of her temple in Sidon. See Avishur, Y., *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible*, vol 2 (Jerusalem: A. Rubinstein Publishing, 1979), pp. 196–197.

connected, since *ʿAnatu* is known for her flying in the heavens, and so this epithet fits her well.[444] [bʿl]*t* – Pardee restores the first word to [ʿn]*t*, in parallel with *wʿnt* and both options may fit.[445] *kpṯ* – Virolleaud translates as "monde" by Akkadian and Hebrew *K-B-Š* ("to trample/tread (ground)," "to conquer"),[446] which also creates an aesthetic merism between "sky" and "ground" and the idea that *ʿAnatu* is the "lady of the world." However, most translate *kpṯ* by Akkadian *kubšu*, a form of "headdress" or a "royal cap," which seem to fit well with the idea of royalty in this passage.[447] *wʿnt . dʾi . dʾit* – The use of the root D-ʾ-Y ("to fly") in this line is translated in various ways, but all of them keep the general meaning of the goddess hovering in the sky, watching over the kingdom from above.[448] [...]x*rm* – Virolleaud restores to [ʿl . ṣ]*rm*, putting the goddess's beauty above all birds in the sky.[449] Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín restore to [bšm]m *rm*<m>, according to line 7.[450] L'Heureux restores to [bn nš] *rm* according to *ʿAnatu*'s appearance in the Legend of *Aqhatu*, flying between birds.[451] However, before the letter /*r*/ in [...]x*rm* an upper tip of a vertical wedge appears, that can be restored to several letters. The fact that there is no word divider between the letters /x/ and /*r*/ and their close proximity, suggest that they belong to a single word, and so the restoration of [bšm]m *rm*<m> or [bn nš]*rm* (the tip of the wedge of the /x/ is vertical, and not diagonal, as in the letter /š/) is probably incorrect, unless we account for this as one more graphical error by the scribe.

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444 Cf KTU 1.10, II, 10–12; KTU 1.18, IV, 32; KTU 1.22, I, 10–11.

445 Cf Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194.

446 See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 555. Also, Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 396. Cf *kabāsu* in CAD K, 6.

447 Cf CAD K, 485. "Turban," Caquot, "RS 24.252," 300–301; "Crown," Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 115; "Diadem," L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 170; "Royal cap," de Moor, *Anthology*, 188; "*kupṯu*-hat," Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194. See also the discussion in Pardee, *Textes para-mythologiques*, 103–104. Cf KTU 4.689, 6, as a part of a ship(?).

448 Rainey sees *dʾi* as an imperative, and *dʾit* as jussive in 3rd person. See Rainey, A. F., "The Ugaritic Texts in Ugaritica 5," *JAOS* 94 (1974), pp. 184–194 (188); Other translations: "'Anat s'est envolée, envolée," Caquot, "RS 24.252," 299; "Anat broke into flight," L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 170; "*ʿAnatu* of the wing, the kite," Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194; Wyatt sees two misspellings in this line and corrects *dʾi*<*dʾiy*; *dʾit*>*dʾiyt*. See Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 397. Tropper also corrects to *dʾit*>*dāʾiyt*. See Tropper, J., *Ugaritische Grammatik*. AOAT 273 (Münster: Ugarit Verlag, 2000), p. 168; Sivan considers *dʾi* as dittography. See Sivan, *Grammar*, 166. If this indeed is a scribal exercise, a graphic error should be considered.

449 Cf Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 553; also, Caquot, "RS 24.252," 299.

450 See Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 115; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151. Cf similar suggestion ([bšm]m *rm*) in Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178.

451 Cf KTU 1.18, IV, 18–21; L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 170.

aklt . ʿgl ʾi̱l – In KTU 1.3, III, 44, *ʿgl ʾil* is mentioned along with other deities or monsters that were destroyed by *ʿAnatu*, yet, since the stichometry in these lines can only be speculated upon because of the damaged parts of the tablet, nothing can be certain. Nevertheless, given the fact that this is a banquet scene, it is more likely that the goddess dines on veal, and the word *ʾil* opens a new line. *ʾi̱l* – Another notable graphical error is found in this word, where the letter /ʾi̱/ stands for a sign that resembles the letter /*t̲*/, surrounded by a circle. Furthermore, the fact that the letter /*l*/ in *ʿgl* seems to have been written over a previously erased sign, and the lack of a word divider between *ʿgl ʾil* strengthen the possibility that KTU 1.108 is a scribal exercise.[452] *mšt* – An unclear word, probably derived from Š-T-Y ("to drink"). Some translate by Hebrew *mištę̄* ("banquet").[453] Others consider the word divider between *ʾi̱l . mšt* as an error, creating the words *ʾilm* ("gods") and *št* ("drink").[454]

Lines 10–19: The next part of the text (lines 10–15 in the obverse, 16–19 in the reverse) is only partially readable, and any attempt to find clear literary structures is merely speculative. Line 10: About 6–8 letters are missing at the beginning of the line. [...]*r* – Mostly restored to [ḫm]*r* ("wine") by context.[455] *špr* – Translated by some as "(drinking) horn" in the context of the banquet, but there are various other possibilities.[456] Line 11: About 7–9 letters are missing at the beginning of the line. *ǵnṯ* – Virolleaud translates by Arabic *ǵnṯ* ("boire et respirer a chaque trait"), and some concur.[457] *ʿgl . ʾil* – Again, it is impossible to

452 This can be compared to KTU 1.114, cf Yogev, J. and Yona, Sh., "Reading Between the Lines – Some Notes on KTU 1.114 (RS 24.258)," *UF* 43 (2012), pp. 533–536.

453 Cf Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178.

454 Cf Dietrich, Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 115; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151.

455 Cf *št*[yt . ḫm]*r*, del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151. He suggests that the wine is a metaphor for blood; [ʾilt . ḫm]*r*, Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 115; [mlʾat . ḫm]*r*, Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 176.

456 Cf Dietrich, Loretz and Sanmartín, "Rs 24.252," 115; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 397; del Olmo Lete translates as "horned one" and links it to *ʿgl . ʾil*. See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 151; L'Heureux translates *špr* as "to beam, to shine." See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 181; Pardee restores [...]*r* to [ʾim]*r*, and along with *špr* translates to "comely lambs." See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 19.

457 See Virolleaud, *Ug 5*, 555; Others translate to "suck." Cf L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 181; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178; Some follow de Moor's translation by Akkadian *ḫanāšu*, a by-form of *kanāšu* ("to submit to someone," "to force into submission"). See de Moor, J. C., "Studies in the New Alphabetic Texts from Ras Shamra I," *UF* 1 (1969), pp. 167–178 (178); Cf CAD K, 144–148; Dietrich and Loretz consider *ʾIlu* who submits *ʿgl . ʾil*. See Dietrich and Loretz, "Baal rpu," 177.

tell if this is a construct, or if the word *ʾil* begins a new line.[458] Line 12: *ʾil . šdyṣd mlk* – About 9–11 letters are missing at the beginning of the line. There are no dividers between the last words, which makes the translation even more difficult. Some see *Šd/y* and *Mlk* as deities,[459] yet it seems more reasonable that *mlk* stands for "king" as in other places in the text. The words *šd* ("field") and *ṣd* ("hunt") imply that this is a hunting scene, or a scene where the game is being brought to the table, as in KTU 1.22, I, 11, and other places that depict the gods as hunters.[460] Most of line 13 is missing besides the words *yšt . ʾilh*.[461] Some see *ʾilh* as a deity, yet every suggestion is speculative because of the lacunas in the text.[462] It may be also translated to "his/her god," referring to *ʾIlu*. Lines 14–17 are unintelligible, yet several attempts at partial reconstruction have been suggested.[463] Line 18: About 12–13 letters are missing. [...]*rš* – Should be restored by ʾ-R-Š ("to ask, make a request, to demand") according to line 20, but it is impossible to understand who is asking and what is being asked.[464] *lbʿl* – The /*l*/ before the name is either a vocative or a preposition. Line 19: About 9–10 letters are missing. [...]m*ǵk* – "brought to you," "bring to you"(?). *rpʾu mlk* – Most likely followed by [ʿlm], as in line 1.

Lines 20–27: The closing part of the text focuses on wishes and greetings for the new king emphasizing his protection of his kingdom. Line 20: *ltštk* – A difficult word that has been given several interpretations such as "your wish,"

458 Some add *ʿtk* at the end of the line, as in KTU 1.3, III, 44. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178.

459 Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 178; Wyatt, *Religious Texts*, 397; The comparison between *ʾil . šdy* to Biblical *ʾĒl Šadaî*, has no actual ground. Cf Knauf, E. A., "Shadday," in *DDD*, pp. 749–753 (750).

460 Cf KTU 1.5, VI, 25–26; 1.6, II, 15; KTU 1.12, I, 34 and maybe KTU 1.114, 1–2.

461 KTU reconstruct /*ḫ*/ after the lacuna.

462 Cf *ʾilh* in KTU 1.41, 14; Possibly with + /*m*/ (pl./enclitic?) in other places in KTU 1.41 and also KTU 1.87. Cf de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; Pardee, *Textes para-mythologiques*, 110–111; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 179; *DUL* translate as a deity's name: "the Divine One," and "referring to the deified dead (kings)." See *DUL*, 53. Yet there is not sufficient data to determine this far-reaching assumption.

463 Line 14: *ʾiṯmh* – "its firm-fleshed cattle." See de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; Also, Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 179; Line 15: Most reconstruct the word *ršp* ("*Rashpu*") based on the upper part of the letter /*š*/, and to its right, an upper horizontal wedge of a possible /*p*/. The /*r*/ is more difficult to restore. Line 16: Some reconstruct *Rpʾum* in the lacuna. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 179; Line 17: [...]*drh* – "his family," according to de Moor, *Anthology*, 189; del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 179; Pardee restores to [n]*drh*. See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194.

464 Restorations: [tʾa]*rš*, L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 181; [ʾi]*rš*, del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; [yʾa]*rš*, Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 194.

"establish you," "your confidence," "thy lady."[465] *l'iršt* – Most restore to *l'iršt*[k]. Line 21: [...]r*p'i* . *mlk ʿlm* – The reconstruction of the lacuna is difficult, but the word may be parallel to //*bʿz*, as in the following half-line.[466] Lines 22–23a: These lines flatter the king while emphasizing the concept of him as the keeper of the realm. *bḏmr*h – Most translate as "with his power/might."[467] This also creates a parallel between the *Rp'u* king and *'Ilu* in line 3. *bl*['anh] – "With his power/strength," restored by lines 24–25. *bḥtkh* – "With his rule/sovereignty."[468] *bnmrth* – Translated by Akkadian *namāru* (*namartu*, *namurratu*; "to shine brightly").[469] This word is echoed in the phrase *nmry* . *mlk* . *ʿlm*, which is found in KTU 2.42, 9, that depicts the trade relations of Ugarit, Cyprus and Egypt. Virolleaud sees *nmry* in KTU 2.42 as the alphabetical form of the name *Nimmureya*, a prenomen of *Amenhotep* III.[470] In light of KTU 1.108, Rainy proposes a re-examination of KTU 2.42, and suggests that *nmry* is a form of *nmrt* ("splendor").[471] Since both texts, KTU 1.108 and 2.42, use the common motif of wishing a king his everlasting kingdom, Rainy's proposition seems more appropriate here.[472]

Lines 23b–24: *lr*[p'i] . *'arṣ* . *ʿzk* – Most agree on this restoration.[473] Once again, as in the Story of *Kirta* and KTU 1.161, the "*Rp'um* of the land" are mentioned and compared to the current king. They are not being invoked from the underworld, as in KTU 1.161, and this might suggest a group of participants

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465 Accordingly: "Your wish," perhaps close to Aramaic *taššûta'* ("weakness, need"). See del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; "Establish you," by Hebrew *št* (cf *nāśî 'ašitęnû*, 1 Kgs 11:34). See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 181; "Your confidence" ("Zuversicht"), by Hebrew *tûšiâ*. See Dietrich and Loretz, "Baal rpu," 178; "Thy lady." See Margulis, "Ugaritic Psalm," 296; Margulis also reads *'iršt*[k] as "thy betrothed," suggesting that this text is meant for the engagement or wedding of *Rp'u*.

466 Possibilities: [rʿy]: "shepherd." See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 181; [byd], "by the power." See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 195; [ḥnt], "grace," by KTU 1.17, I, 16. See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 179.

467 Also "his fortress." Cf del Olmo Lete, *Canaanite Religion*, 153; Margulis finds a parallel to the use of *ʿz* and *ḏmr* in Ex 15:2: *'ôzî wezimrāt yâ*. See Margulis, "Ugaritic Psalm," 296.

468 Pardee translates as "paternal care." See Pardee, *Ritual and Cult*, 195.

469 Cf CAD N1, 209–220; *DUL*, 624; Parker suggests it derives from the root M-R-R ("To bless, strengthen"). See Parker, "Feast of Rāpi'u," 246.

470 Cf Virolleaud, Ch., "Les nouvelles tablettes alphabétiques de Ras-Shamra (18e campagne, automne 1954)," *CRSAIBL* 99 (1955), pp. 73–82 (74–75); See the Akkadian form in the El-Amarna letters EA 1,2; 2,1; 3,1; 5,1; 17,1 and more.

471 See Rainey, "Ugaritica 5," 188.

472 Cf Dijkstra, *HUS*, 158: "The splendour of an everlasting kingship!"

473 L'Heureux restores as *lr*[m b] . *'arṣ* ("exalted over the earth"). See L'Heureux, *Canaanite Gods*, 182; Pope restores as *lr*[mm b]. *'arṣ* ("to exalt the land"). See Pope, "Rephaim," 181; Parker restores to *lr*[p'u]. *'arṣ*, as vocative that addresses *Rp'u* itself in the 2nd person. See Parker, "Feast of Rāpi'u," 247.

from the *Rp'um*, maybe warriors or the king's relatives, who are present at the coronation. Then again, the comparison of the king's strength to that of other *Rp'um* could refer to all members of this group, in the present or the past.[474] Lines 25–27: *btk/ 'ugrt* ("In the midst of Ugarit"), again, this implies that this text deals with matters of the kingdom, hence the *Rp'u mlk 'lm* must be the official functioning king. *lymt . špš . wyrḫ* ("for the days of the sun and the moon") – This formulaic royal blessing is well attested,[475] for example (KAI 26 A IV 2–3):[476] *šm 'aztwd ykn l'lm km šm/ šmš wyrḫ* – "The name of *Azatiwada* shall be established for eternity, as the name of the sun and the moon." This example, as KTU 1.108, combines the concept of eternal kingship with the sun and the moon. *wn'mt . šnt . 'il – ymt//šnt* ("days"//"years") a known word pair from Biblical Literature.[477] *'Ilu*, who opens this text, is also present at its closure, creating a frame for the whole piece. The formulaic blessing is figurative, and does not mean that the *Rp'u* will actually live forever like the gods, but wishes the king the longest of life, an eternal bloodline, and a memorable presence in the world. The concept of immortality is one of the main barriers which separate men from gods, as also depicted in the Story of *Kirta*, when the king's son is baffled by his father's mortality.[478] This is also seen in KTU 1.161, when a member of the *Rp'um* joins the others in the Underworld as he passes on. The *Rp'um* are considered divine by their lineage, that derives from the gods themselves, but do not possess the gift of immortality.

In conclusion, although the entire "picture" is missing because of the fragmentary condition of the tablet, the complete parts provide many clues regarding the nature of the *Rp'um*. All evidence of the identity of *Rp'u . mlk . 'lm* in KTU 1.108 point to the fact that that he is the current king of Ugarit. The blessings, the celebration and the gathering of the gods show that this poem is meant for a coronation ceremony. If this was a school text, it could have been dictated from a source material as a general coronation related text, not as an official document that deals with a specific Ugaritic king. It is not a liturgical text; no sacrifices are given, and there is no definite order of events which

474 Dietrich and Loretz translate *'arṣ* as "underworld." See Dietrich and Loretz, "Baal rpu," 175; According to de Moor, the phrase *rp'i 'arṣ* here refers to members of the dynasty, both living and dead. See de Moor, *Anthology*, 189, note 13.

475 Cf Theuer, *Mondgott*, 94–95.

476 Also, V, 6–7.

477 Cf Deut 32:7; Ps 77:6.

478 Cf KTU 1.16, I, 17–23; This is also seen in KTU 1.17, VI, 25–33, when *'Anatu* offers *Aqhatu* the valuable gift of immortality as *Ba'alu* // Son of *'Ilu*, in exchange for his bow. *Aqhatu*, son of *Dān'ilu* the *Rp'u*, dies as any mortal for his refusal, and this probably emphasizes the idea that a warrior should never give up his weapon for any gift, not even for the goddess herself.

take place as in KTU 1.161. The text links myth and monarchy; the gods approve of the new king, and provide him the protection that he himself will provide to the whole kingdom and the people in it, as a link between gods and men.

2.8 An Incantation (KTU 1.82)

The tablet was found in residential quarters in the Royal Palace of Ugarit in the 1951 excavation of Ras Shamra (RS 15.134; height: 14.6 cm, width: 11.1 cm).[479] Although the tablet is fractioned and worn in parts, some of the surviving text is very clear. The text is divided into several sections by gaps and horizontal lines, which could imply that these are verses of the single large text, or a collection of smaller texts. It was first published by Ch. Virolleaud who considered it to be linked to the myth of *Baʿalu*, after defeating *Yammu*.[480] Later on it was given different ritualistic contexts; J. C. de Moor and K. Spronk see it as a threat to cast away evil demons and spirits who wish to prevent the arrival of the good spirits, invoked by people for protection.[481] A. Caquot sees it as a collection of magical formulas.[482] G. del Olmo Lete refers to it as "A miscellaneous incantation/Anti witchcraft text against snakebite."[483] M. Dijkstra refers to the text as prosaic, although it does have several aspects which appear to be poetic.[484] The text does not focus on the *Rpʾum* and they do not seem to play any central role in it. They are mentioned only once, in line 32:

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479 See Bordreuil, P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), p. 90; According to KTU, it was found in room 53. Damascus Museum catalogue number: DO 4001.

480 See Virolleaud, PRU II, 3–7. See also Van Zijl, who translated the first part of the text. van Zijl, P. J., "Translation and Discussion of Text 1001:1–2 (RS 15.134:1)," *JNSL* 2 (1972), pp. 74–85; idem, "Translation and Discussion of Text 1001:3–5a," *JNSL* 3 (1974), pp. 85–93; idem, "Translation and Discussion of Text 1001:5(b)-7," *JNSL* 4 (1975), pp. 73–86; Miglio also finds parallels between lines 1–7 and myth. See Miglio, A. E., "A Study of the Serpent Incantation KTU² 1.82: 1–7 and its Contributions to Ugaritic Mythology and Religion," *JANER* 13 (2013), pp. 30–48.

481 See de Moor, J. C. and Spronk, K., "More on Demons in Ugarit (KTU 1.82)," *UF* 16 (1984), pp. 237–250 (249).

482 See Caquot, A., de Tarragon, J. M. and Cunchillos, J. L., *Textes ougaritiques II: Textes religieux, rituels, correspondance* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1989), pp. 61–70 (61–62); Also, Wyatt, *HUS*, 576, who refers to it as an "anthology of incantation texts."

483 See del Olmo Lete, G., *Incantations and Anti-Witchcraft Texts from Ugarit. Studies in Ancient Near Eastern Records* 4 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2014), p.109; del Olmo Lete, G., "KTU 1.82: Another Miscellaneous Incantation/Anti-Witchcraft Text against Snakebite in Ugaritic," *Aula Orientalis* 29 (2011), pp. 245–265 (245).

484 See Dijkstra, *HUS*, 150; For the opposite opinion, see del Olmo Lete, *Incantations*, 123; de Moor and K. Spronk, "KTU 1.82," 237.

[...]ḫ*mt* . *lql* .*rp'i*[...].

The line is fractured at both ends, and the meaning or context is unclear. However, there is a consensus of restoring *rp'i*[m] in pl. form. de Moor and Spronk translate: "The poison by the voice of the healers." They find a connection between the *'ilm* that appear line 42 and the *Rp'um*, and suggesting that this ritual is connected to the New Year festival when deceased kings and heroes were invoked from the Underworld.[485] de Moor, who sees a connection between the *Rp'um* and healing, suggests that they were invoked to heal people who had been bitten by venomous snakes.[486] del Olmo Lete divides and translates the line as: [...]ḫ*mt*. /*lql* .*rp'i*[...] – "... venom(?)/ To the cry of the *Rapa'ūma*." He explains that the *Rp'um* serve as invoked ancestors who protect from any danger.[487]

Unfortunately, there is very little information regarding the *Rp'um* which can be gained from this text. There is no question that they are always perceived as positive, in life and death. However, they do not possess any supernatural or healing ability in any of the texts discussed above, but are seen as such because of the root R-P-ʾ that composes their name (see discussion in §2.10). They are honored, and probably given offerings in certain rituals. Since this tablet was found in the royal palace, it could be restored to *lql* . *rp'i* . – "to the voice of the *Rp'i*," and addresses the current king of Ugarit, the one who is expected to protect the realm from any harm with the divine help of the gods, as in KTU 1.108, yet this is merely speculation.

2.9 A Fragmentary Text (KTU 1.166)

The text is composed of several fragments, found in the debris on the surface in the Northern Palace in Ras Ibn Hani in the 1977 excavation (RIH 77/8A+77/21B+77/13; height: 10.9 cm, width: 5.6 cm).[488] Most of the tablet is missing, and the surviving text is only partially readable. The *Rp'um* are only mentioned once in the text, in line 13:[489]

485 See de Moor and K. Spronk, "KTU 1.82," 246, 249.

486 See de Moor, J. C., *An Anthology of Religious Texts from Ugarit*. Nisaba 16 (Leiden: Brill, 1987), p. 180, note 35.

487 See del Olmo Lete, *Incantations*, 112, 126.

488 See Bordreuil, P. and Pardee, D., *La trouvaille épigraphique de l'Ougarit 1, Concordance*. Ras Shamra-Ougarit V. (Paris: ERC, 1989), p. 363.

489 According to Bordreuil and Caquot, it is line 14. See Bordreuil P. and Caquot, A., "Textes en cunéiformes alphabétiques découverts en 1977 à Ibn Hani," *Syria* 56 (1979), pp. 295–315 (301).

rpʾi . yqr . [...]

Some of the remaining vocabulary of KTU 1.166 is found in other texts discussed here, such as: *yqr* (line 13), *nʿm* (line 14), *mlk* (lines 28, 26?), *gṯrn* (line 29).[490] P. Bordreuil and A. Caquot, who were the first to publish it, decided that it has an affiliation with the *Rpʾum*, and discuss the mythic nature of it.[491] The appearance of *yqr* and *gṯrn* in different parts of the text led them to suggest that they are the names of two of the *Rpʾum*, as well as in KTU 1.108, 2.[492] Some see *yqr* as a name, and link it to *ʾil yqr* in KTU 1.113, 26, as the deified king *Yaqaru* who supposedly became an important part of the ancestral cult in Ugarit over time.[493] B. B. Schmidt sees *yqr* as a positive epithet, like *nʿm* that appears in the same text.[494] J. C. de Moor sees the words *lšd qdš* (line 12) as tied to an evil entity or demon, which is balanced by the appearance of the positive *Rpʾu* in the following line.[495]

The fragmentary condition of the text and its familiar vocabulary can be used to tilt the scales of the discussion in any direction. This is exactly the reason why no hasty conclusions should be drawn here. It might be a text that combines the aspects of myth with monarchy, since the words *rpʾi*, *yqr*, *nʿm* and *gṯrn* depict kings in different texts discussed here. Drawing any further conclusions would be merely speculative.

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490 Cf KTU 1.108, 2–6; KTU 1.113.

491 The names *Baʿalu* and *Daganu* appear in line 9. The phrase *ṯḥṭ . pʿnh* (line 31) appears also in KTU 1.19, III, 24, 37–38.

492 Bordreuil and Caquot, "Textes en cuneiforms," 302–303. *UDB* also classify this text as "myth."

493 See Marlo, P. and Xella, P., "Da Erwin Rohde ai Rapiuma ugaritici: antecedenti vicino-orientali degli eroi greci?," in Ribichini, S., Rocchi, M. and Xella, P., (eds.), *La Questione delle Influenze Vicino-Orientali Sulla Religione Greca* (Rome: SPAL, 2001), pp. 281–297 (286); del Olmo Lete, G., *Canaanite Religion: According to the Liturgical Texts of Ugarit.* Translated by Watson. W. G. E., AOAT 408 (Munster: Ugarit-Verlag, 2014), pp. 148–150; According to *DUL*, 961, *Yaqaru* is "founder of the royal dynasty of Ugarit." Cf *Yaqaru* in Kitchen, K., "The King List of Ugarit," *UF* 9 (1977), pp. 131–142 (132); Niehr, H., "Die rapiʾūma/rephāʾîm als konstitutives Element der westsemitischen Königsideologie. Herkunft – Rezeptionsgeschichte – Ende," in Jonker, L., Kotzé, G. and Maier, C. M. (eds.), Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016. VTSup 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 143–178 (152–154).

494 See Schmidt, B. B., *Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1996), p. 88, note 202.

495 See de Moor, J. C., "Demons in Canaan," *Jaarbericht Ex Oriente Lux* 27 (1981–1982), pp. 106–119 (119, note 55); Schmidt translates *šd qdš* as "the field of the temple." See Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 88, note 202.

2.10 Conclusion of the Ugaritic Evidence and the Meaning of the Name "Rephaim"

I open the Ugaritic section in this study with the mythical texts that mention the *Rp'um*: KTU 1.20–1.22, the legend of *Aqhatu*, the myth of *Baʿalu* and the Story of King *Kirta*. This was done for two main reasons; the first, as we are dealing with an ancient culture that considers history and myth as one and the same, it seems most logical that the primary form of the *Rp'um* appears in these texts. The second: because all of the mythical texts that mention the *Rp'um* were written by the same scribe (with some uncertainty regarding KTU 1.20), it can be claimed that their nature is consistent in these texts. These texts were probably not written only for the sake of preserving history and ancient stories. Each of them reflects the time of the scribe, and the subjects that he saw as important. Since most of the texts lead to the conclusion that kings, leaders and warriors are members of the *Rp'um*, it is not surprising to see the positive way in which they are depicted. The *Rp'um* are alive in every myth. They are portrayed as heroes (*ǵzrm*, *mhrm*, *mtm*) who ride chariots, sometimes depicted as a collective and other times by themselves, as in the *Kirta* and *Aqhatu* stories. The collective of *Rp'um*, also called *rp'i 'arṣ* ("*Rp'um* of the land"), is assembled or mentioned on special occasions that involve one of their own: coronation banquets (KTU 1.20–1.22, KTU 1.108), births (*Kirta*), funerals or memorial services (KTU 1.161) and probably war (KTU 1.3, II, 20–22). The closeness between them is demonstrated by the term *'aḫm* ("brothers," KTU 1.22, I, 5–6, 1.17, I, 18–21), standing shoulder to shoulder, supporting each other in major events. The term "brothers" is more than metaphorical. They are addressed as *qbṣ dtn* ("the group/family of *Ditānu*/*Didānu*), in the Story of *Kirta* and KTU 1.161, and also "sons" and "grandchildren" in KTU 1.22, I, 2–3, and this reveals that they have a common origin in the Ugaritic tradition. They are all connected to the same family, descendants of a single bloodline. They are also called *'ilm* ("gods"), *'ilnym* ("divine ones") and *Kirta* is addressed as "son" and "family" of *'Ilu*" (KTU 1.16, I, 9–11 and 20–22). Putting all this information together, leads us to the strong suggestion that they were considered divine in their lifetime. Since they do not possess any special superhuman powers or immortality in the texts, it can be said that these gifted individuals are part of *'Ilu*'s lineage, in a mythic tale which probably resembles Gen 6:1–4. This is the basic function of the *Rp'um*; to legitimate and deify whoever is on the throne or leads an army by connecting him to the past, to the first mortal descendants of the gods in the early myth of mankind.

The *Rp'um* are not only warriors and kings. *Dān'ilu* is a righteous judge in his town, attending to the needs of the lower classes. This suggests that the

Rp'um are a larger group, which also includes the royalty. As expected of leaders of men, the *Rp'um* are all solidly linked to the strongest gods in the pantheon, such as *'Ilu*, *Baʿalu*, *ʿAnatu*, *Šapšu*, *Kotharu and Ḫasisu* and more. It would be an error to link them with a single deity, as some suggest. The theophoric data of personal names in Ugarit attests to the importance of the *Rp'u*, the divine epithet of the current monarch, even more than some of the most admired gods.

As the textual and archaeological evidence shows, the people of the kingdom were very close to their dead, and offerings were given to family members buried underneath private residences. Text KTU 1.142 provides important information regarding the perception of some form of existence in the afterlife to all people in the Underworld. The *Rp'um* are no exception here. They die like everybody else, and can be invoked when necessary. Offerings or rituals meant for kings of the past, which are probably portrayed in texts such as KTU 1.161, KTU 1.113, RS 94.2518, or maybe the term *mlkm* in some texts, are a part of this tradition. Libation and offerings were probably given to all the dead in general, but only important rituals were documented. And so, the *Rp'um* should not be identified as the dead, or as connected to any chthonic deity. However, since they are invoked on important occasions, and being the most important members of the Underworld, the concept of "dead *Rp'um*" also grew in importance. Each king who passed away was expected to join the others, and slowly they turned into a large collective, which is invoked and given the choicest offerings more frequently than other classes in society. This is depicted very clearly in KTU 1.161, as well in the Phoenician inscriptions KAI 13, KAI 14, KAI 117, which are discussed below (§3.3; §3.4). With this note, it can be said with confidence that the *Rp'um* are seen in a positive light in every Ugaritic text that is examined here. They are always portrayed as heroes, warriors, kings, judges, and close to the gods. This is important to note before we move on to the next chapters, and see the extreme transformation of the *Rp'um* in Biblical texts.

Although some scholars have tried to link the *Rp'um* with concepts of health, medicine and healing, it is safe to say they have no function in this field. They are also not healthier than any other man; they fall ill, grow old and die. They do not cure anyone, man or god, in any of the texts. This is seen most clearly in the story of *Kirta*, who though gravely ill, no other member of the *Rp'um* comes to his rescue. Furthermore, the idea that the *Rp'um* recover from snakebites in KTU 1.82 is not supported in the text. In Biblical texts the Rephaim always appear as fearsome beings and enemies of Israel and God. They are never portrayed as healers. Aistleitner's opinion, seeing *Rp'um* as derived from Akkadian *rubū*; *rubāum* as "princes," although difficult to justify from an etymological

perspective, which demonstrates the problem of accepting the idea of healing *Rp'um*, acknowledges their nature as leaders of men.[496]

The root R-P-ʾ meaning "healing" is very rare in the Ugaritic language.[497] Nevertheless, its widespread use in other Semitic languages (Hebrew, Arabic, Aramaic, Phoenician, Ethiopian) suggests that its general meaning in Ugaritic probably resembles the others. Gesenius sees the first meaning of R-P-ʾ as "to sew together, to mend" and the second meaning as "to heal."[498] The meanings of R-P-ʾ in Arabic ("to mend, to repair") and Ethiopian ("to stitch together, to mend") as well as in Hebrew ("to mend, to heal"), leads to the conclusion that the original meaning of the root R-P-ʾ is "to bring something to its complete, whole and perfect form," and in time, the polysemic meaning of the root transformed into more specific meanings in different branches of Semitic languages.[499]

The Ugaritic data characterizes the *Rp'um* very accurately; heroes, kings, warriors and leaders. They are the ones a person would wish to dwell with in the Underworld, as also depicted in the Phoenician data (KAI 13, 14 and 117). They are the highest form of human, divine in nature and origin. In other words, "*Rp'um*" means "the flawless ones; those who are intact." This interpretation accords with all of the Ugaritic and Phoenician evidence. Of course, we find the *exact* opposite position in Biblical literature, where the scribes treat the concept of the Rephaim as a negative concept, and alter it according to their perceptions. The idea of describing heroes as "intact" and "whole" as a metaphor for "good," "worthy" and "righteous" is very common in Biblical literature, and usually expressed by the words *tāmīm* and *tām* (T-M-M, "to complete, finished").[500] This might also change the understanding of some theophoric names, in which the R-P-ʾ element, which is believed to address the *Rp'um*, might describe the second component of the name as "perfect" or "flawless."

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496 See Aistleitner, J., *Wörterbuch der ugaritischen Sprache* (Berlin: Akademie-Verl, 1963), p. 295. Also, Heltzer, who connects between the *Rabba'um* from Mari and the *Rp'um*. See Heltzer, M., "The Rabba'um in Mari and the RPI(M) in Ugarit," *OLP* 9 (1978), pp. 5–20. His arguments are rejected by Schmidt, *Israel's Beneficent Dead*, 89–90.

497 Cf *trpa* ("remedy", "cure") in KTU 1.114, 28.

498 See Gesenius, H. F. W., *Hebräisches und chaldäisches Handwörterbuch über das Alte Testament* (Leipzig: F. C. W. Vogel, 1810–12), pp. 785–786; English translation by Tregelles, S. P., *Gesenius's Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (London: Samuel Bagster and Sons, 1860), pp. 775–776.

499 Cf also *BDB*, 950–951. For example, when Elijah wishes to demonstrate the force of God in Mount Carmel before the people of Israel, it is said (1 Kgs 18:30): "… He repaired (*wayᵉrapê*) the damaged Altar of God."; Cf also Jer 6:14: וַיְרַפְּאוּ אֶת שֶׁבֶר עַמִּי.

500 Cf Gen 17:1; Deut 18:13; Ezek 28:15; Ps 15:2 and more. Cf also the term *gibōr tāmīm* – "a perfect/righteous hero" (2 Sam 22:26, cf also Ps. 18:26).

As attested to in theophoric Amorite names,[501] in the name *ʿAmmurpʾi* or in the Ugaritic legends, the tradition of the *Rephaim* was not invented by the Ugaritic people, but originated much earlier in a different geographic area in the Levant and spread from there to different Semitic cultures, like the Phoenician culture, described in the next section.

501 Cf Huffmon, H. B., *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 263–264.

CHAPTER 3

The Phoenician Evidence

3.1 Introduction to the Phoenician Evidence

We are now moving on to the next database that addresses the *Rp'um*: the Phoenician texts. The earliest Phoenician history records come indirectly from Egypt, and date from the beginning of second millennium. The Phoenicians maintained a certain amount of independence in their cities over time, through the struggles between the Egyptian and Hittite kingdoms over territory in the northern shoreline, the invasion of the "Sea People" around 1200 BCE, several Assyrian invasions and more. In the early part of the 1st millennium BCE, the Phoenicians started spreading by sea, creating thriving commercial colonies on many coasts of the Mediterranean, in places such as modern Cyprus, Turkey, Crete, Sicily, Sardinia, Spain, Portugal, and also in many locations on the Northern African coast in modern Algeria, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia and so on. The categorization of the Phoenicians as a single group with a common ethnic origin is based mostly on geographic and historical conditions, and the way in which they were viewed by others, not the way they viewed themselves.[1]

Being a nation of seafarers who traveled through maritime commercial routes, the Phoenicians influenced and were influenced by others, and so, many traditions were passed from harbor to harbor, including financial systems, artwork, myths, craftsmanship and much more. There is also evidence of connections between the Phoenician cities and Ugarit prior to its destruction.

1 See Quinn, J. C., *In Search of the Phoenicians* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018), pp. 25–30; For selected surveys of the Phoenician-Punic culture and history, see Aubet, M. E., *The Phoenicians and the West: Politics, Colonies and Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), pp. 3–15, 185–217; Aubet, M. E., "From Trading Post to Town in the Phoenician-Punic World," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 86 (1995), pp. 47–65; Barr, J., "Philo of Byblos and his 'Phoenician History,'" *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 57 (1974), pp. 17–68; Carriera, J. N., "Hermopolitan Traditions in Philo Byblius' Phoenician History," *Cadmo* 1 (1991), pp. 31–44; Delgado, A. and Ferrer, M., "Cultural Contacts in Colonial Settings: The Construction of New Identities in Phoenician Settlements of the Western Mediterranean," *Stanford Journal of Archaeology* 5 (2007), pp. 18–42; Katzenstein, H. J., "Phoenicia," in EB vol 6 (1971), pp. 464–477; Moscati, S., *The World of the Phoenicians*, Translated by Weidenfeld, G. (Chatham: W. & J. Mackay & co, 1968), pp. 3–9; Neiman, D., "Phoenician Place-Names," *JNES* 24 (1965), pp. 113–115; Prag, J. R. W., "Phoinix and Poenus: Usage in Antiquity," in Quinn, J. C. and Vella, N. C. (eds.) *The Punic Mediterranean* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), pp. 11–23; Röllig, W., "On the Origin of the Phoenicians," *Berytus* 31 (1983), pp. 79–93.

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Ugarit was not a part of the Phoenician colonies, but still shared some similarities with the Phoenicians in several aspects of belief systems, language, culture and more.[2] This does not mean that one developed from the other, but rather that both were branches of the same tree.

The Phoenician alphabet is linear and composed of twenty-two letters, shorter than the Ugaritic one. M. Dietrich and O. Loretz explain that "to all intents, the Ugaritic alphabet looks like, so to speak, the Phoenician alphabet with 22 consonants, extended by the insertion of 5 additional letters plus 3 at the end."[3] Whether the Ugaritic and Phoenician alphabetical graphic systems developed from the same Proto-Semitic pictographic alphabet is still a matter of debate.[4] As in Ugaritic, the mediums of writing may be worn or fragmented, and the vocabulary and syntax are not always clear. Furthermore, special dialects developed in different colonies over time, which affected the way of writing.[5]

All of this must be taken into account when approaching the Phoenician texts in order to discover the nature of the *Rp'um*. So far, most of the evidence

2 Cf Arnaud, D., "Les ports de la 'Phenicie' a la fin de l'age du Bronze Recent (XIV–XIII siecles) d'apres les textes cunéiformes de Syrie", *SMEA* 30 (1992), pp. 179–194; Röllig, W., "Phoenician and the Phoenicians in the Context of the Ancient Near East," in Baurain, C. (ed.), *I Fenici: ieri, oggi, domani, Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Commissione per gli studi Fenici e Punici*, (Rome: Istituto per la civiltà fenicia e punica del Consiglio nazionale delle ricerche, 1995), pp. 203–214 (212); Vidal, J., "Beirut and Ugarit in the 13th Century BCE," *SMEA* 47 (2005), pp. 291–298; Idem, "Ugarit and the Southern Levantine Sea-Ports", *JESHO* 49 (2006), pp. 269–279; Xella, P., "Ugarit et les Phéniciens. Identité culturelle et rapports historiques," in Dietrich, M. and Loretz, O. (eds.), *Ugarit: ein ostmediterranes Kulturzentrum im Alten Orient. Ergebnisse und Perspektiven der Forschung. I. Ugarit und seine altorientalische Umwelt*. ALASP 7 (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1995), pp. 239–266; Yon, M., "Ougarit et ses relations avec les régions maritimes voisines (d'apres les travaux récents)," in Brooke, G. J., Curtis, A. H. W. and Healey, J. E. (eds.), *Ugarit and the Bible* (Münster: Ugarit-Verlag, 1994), pp. 421–439 (426).

3 See Dietrich and Loretz, *HUS*, 82–83.

4 Cf Cross, F. M., "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," in Senner, W. M. (ed.), *The Origins of Writing* (Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press 1989), pp. 77–90 (84–85); Virolleaud Ch. and Lambdin, T. O., "A Ugaritic Abecedary and the Origins of the Proto-Canaanite Alphabet," *BASOR* 160 (1960), pp. 21–26; For more on the origin of the Phoenician Alphabet, its development and influence, see Lam, L., "The Invention and Development of the Alphabet," in Woods, C. (ed.) *Visible Language: Inventions in Writing in the Ancient Middle East and Beyond* (Chicago: Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago, 2010), pp. 189–195; Millard, A. R., "The Ugaritic and Canaanite Alphabets – Some Notes," *UF* 11 (1979), pp. 613–637; Naveh, N., *Early History of the Alphabet: An Introduction to West Semitic Epigraphy and Paleography* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1982); Petrariu, I., "Greeks, Phoenicians and the Alphabet," *Studia Antiqua et Archaeologica* 19 (2013), pp. 189–197; Sass, B., "The Genesis of the Alphabet and Its Development in the Second Millennium BC," *AAT* 13 (1988), pp. 135–156.

5 See Krahmalkov, C. R., *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. HdO 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 1–37.

that has been presented here is taken from a single location, around the same era, and sometimes even written by the same scribe. This is not the case with the Phoenician texts. The first two texts out of the three that mention the *Rp'um* (KAI 13–14) were found in Sidon and dated over 600 years after the destruction of Ugarit. The third text (KAI 117) was found in Tunisia, and dated over 700 years after the first two. The concept of the *Rp'um* could not have stayed static over such a long period of time and under foreign influences, and must have been modified accordingly. Nevertheless, the basics of the concept were preserved. Following a discussion of the three records which mention the *Rp'um*, I will examine Phoenician sources that have been linked to this concept in several studies, although the link is dubious.

3.2 Belief System and Theophoric Evidence

Although thousands of Phoenician texts were discovered in the various Phoenician colonies, there is almost no evidence for myth, hymns, rituals, cultic texts or deity lists such as those that were found in Ugarit. Information about the religion of the Phoenician people has been reconstructed through various texts, theophoric names and archeological data, which provide only a partial picture of their complex belief system. Many gods are mentioned frequently in texts, but their function in the cosmos or their relations to each other is missing. Attempts to restore the Phoenician pantheon using information from Ugarit, Greek, Roman mythology or other sources encounter many obstacles, since it seems that each large colony had a slightly different pantheon. Many comparisons have been made between these pantheons, but since a pantheon is built upon ancient, rooted, mythic traditions, it is difficult to find an explanation to the variations between the Phoenician colonies in matters of religion.[6] The information we do have is concentrated in the major cities. A. J. Brody, in his study of Canaanite-Phoenician deities, emphasizes gods who function as storm and marine gods, as the most important object of worship of seafarers

6 Cf Clifford, R. J., "Phoenician Religion," *BASOR* 279 (1990), pp. 55–64; Moscati, *World of the Phoenicians*, 30–31; Ribichini, S., "Beliefs and Religious Life," in Moscati, S. (ed.), *The Phoenicians* (London: I. B. Tauris, 2001), pp. 120–152; Xella, P., "D'Ugarit à la Phénicie: Sur les traces de Rashap, Horon, Eshmun," *Die Welt des Orients* 19 (1988), pp. 45–64; Xella, P., "Pantheon e culto a Biblo. Aspetti e problem," in Acquaro, E. et al. (eds.), *Biblo: una citta e la sua cultura*, Collezione di Studi Fenici 34 (Rome: Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, 1994), pp. 195–214; idem, "Dieux et Cults en Syro-Palestien," *UF* 45 (2014), pp. 525–535.

(such as *Bʿl*, *Ammon*, Poseidon, *ʾAšerah*, *Tinnit*, *Milqart* and more).[7] S. Moscati suggests that each of the major Phoenician cities had a triad of main deities; a main protective male deity, a female deity, and a younger male deity, probably a son of the main gods. He gives examples for these triads such as in Byblos: *ʾEl-Baʿalat-Adonis*, Sidon: *Baʿal-ʿAštoret-Ešmon* and more.[8] R. J. Clifford identifies *Ešmon* as *Baʿal* and sees him and *ʿAštoret* as the main gods in Sidon, while *Milqart* is the main god of Tyre.[9] There are many other opinions about the structure of the Phoenician religion, which are beyond the scope of this study. There is also an obvious connection between the Ugaritic and Phoenician belief systems, but the differences between deities (such as *Ešmun* or *Milqart*, who are absent from the Ugaritic pantheon), and between the Phoenician colonies suggest a common belief system which preceded all of them and developed in a slightly different way in each location. This is also the case with the concept of the *Rpʾum*. This concept was not created in Ugarit, but rather in early traditions that spread to different locations in the Levant.

In the discussion of KTU 1.108 (§2.7), W. H. Van Soldt's study of Ugaritic theophoric names was brought to show the importance of deities from the standpoint of the Ugaritic people.[10] The same methodology can also be used with Phoenician names. The most thorough study of Phoenician and Punic names up to now belongs to F. L. Benz, who created a catalog of names; complete, broken, domestic and foreign.[11] Before reviewing this information, we must remember that Van Soldt found the theophoric element *Rpʾ* located in the seventh place of importance, according to the Ugaritic people, even before other main deities such as *Yariḫu*, *ʿAnatu* or *Kotharu*. But what about the Phoenicians? Benz counts about 1,100 general names in his catalog, not including foreign or incomplete names. The divine element of the

7 See Brody, A. J., *"Each Man Cried Out to His God": The Specialized Religion of Canaanite and Phoenician Seafarers*. HSM 58 (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 9–38.

8 See Moscati, *World of the Phoenicians*, 30–41; Bloch-Smith finds evidence for the importance of *ʿAštoret* in other Phoenician centers as well. See Bloch-Smith, E., "Archaeological and Inscriptional Evidence for Phoenician Astarte," in Sugimoto D. T. (ed.), *Transformation of a Goddess – Ishtar – Astarte – Aphrodite*, Orbis Biblicus et Orientalis 263 (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 2014), pp. 167–194.

9 See Clifford, "Phoenician Religion," 56–57, 62.

10 See van Soldt, W. H., "Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit," in Matoïan, V. and Al-Maqdissi, M. (eds.), *Ras Shamra – Ugarit 24, Études ougaritiques* IV (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp. 95–108.

11 See Benz, F. L., *Personal Names in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions: A Catalog, Grammatical Study and Glossary of Elements* (Rome: Biblical Institute Press, 1972), pp. 53–198.

name *B'l*, for example, is found in about 15% of all names.[12] The divine element of the name *'štrt* is found in about 3% of the total number of names, substantially more than Ugaritic names, according to Van Soldt's study. There are many interesting findings in this data, which must be divided according to different settlements in order to grasp to full scope of the importance of divinities in each city and colony. Yet, we must limit our discussion to the divine element *Rp'*, which only has a single clear appearance in names in the Phoenician and Punic texts that Benz reviews (CIS 2566.5, *Rp'*). As I discuss below (§3.3; §3.4), the *Rp'um* are mentioned in three Phoenician texts (KAI 13–14, 117). There is evidence of a deity named *Šdrp'*, a month named *Mrp'* and several occurrences of using the root R-P-' to mean "healing/mending," but almost nothing from the standpoint of the Phoenician people when it comes to theophoric names. Before suggesting explanations for the diminishing use of R-P-' in names, we must review the Phoenician material which addresses the *Rp'um* in order to decide if the concept maintained its important position in culture and daily life.

3.3 The *Tabnit* and *Eshmunazar* Inscriptions (KAI 13 and KAI 14)

The first two inscriptions are discussed together since they were both found in Sidon on two royal sarcophaguses from the same era, which also belong to kings of the same lineage: King *Tabnit*, and his son, King *Eshmunazar* II. Furthermore, the inscriptions contain similar features and concepts, including their approach to the *Rp'um* and their link to monarchy.

The sarcophagus of *Eshmunazar* (height: 2.56 m., width: 0.93 m.) was found in 1855 in a Tel in the southern part of Sidon.[13] It has an anthropoid form and is made of black basalt; most scholars agree that all external signs indicate that it was manufactured in Egypt.[14] An inscription of 22 lines (KAI 14; CIS I 3) is carved on the front of the sarcophagus, that, like many other known mortuary inscriptions, focuses on glorifying the deceased for his achievements, and to prevent the violation of the tomb by posing threats and warnings to whomever dares to disturb the king's rest.

12 This does not take into account cases of multiple people who may be given the same name, but only the variant of names. van Soldt uses only theophoric names. There is great difficulty identifying "pure" theophoric names, and so I have limited the examples to certain divine elements, such as *B'l* and *'štrt*.

13 See van Dyck, C. V. A., "Sarcophagus of Esmunazar, King of Sidon," *Transactions of the Albany Institute* IV (1855), pp. 68–72.

14 Now displayed at the Louvre Museum, Paris. Catalog number AO 4806.

Tabnit's sarcophagus was uncovered in 1887, in an ancient necropolis east of Sidon.[15] The sarcophagus (height: 2.3 m., width: 1.1 m.) is also made of basalt, and bears an Egyptian inscription which reveals that it was originally meant for an Egyptian general, named *Penptah*.[16] A Phoenician inscription of 8 lines (KAI 13) is carved on the bottom of the sarcophagus that is mostly dedicated to warnings against violation of the tomb, and does not reveal much information except for *Tabnit*'s father's name, which was also *Eshmunazar* (I). Much has been said about the lineage of *Eshmunazar* I, and many attempts have been made to determine its place in history. Opinions vary greatly. At the early stages of research, historians placed the beginning of this lineage in the fourth/third century BCE, and later on, most opinions have placed it in the sixth/fifth century BCE.[17]

Since *Eshmunazar*'s inscription is much more detailed than *Tabnit*'s, it will be discussed first. The text is not poetic in nature, but it does present many literary features such as word-pairs, types of repetitions and others, that suggest that the text relies on rich literary knowledge and sources which are very close to the ones found in Ugaritic and Biblical texts.[18] There are many historical and cultural aspects to the text, and so the discussion is limited to lines 6–8 that mention the *Rp'um*.

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15 See Renan, E., "L'inscription phénicienne du sarcophage royal découvert à Saïda," *CRSAIBL* 31 (1887), pp. 182–184.

16 See Donner, H. and Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Band I (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 2002), p. 17. Now displayed at the Istanbul Archaeological Museum.

17 Fourth/Third century: Cooke, G. A., *A Textbook of North-Semitic Inscriptions: Moabite, Hebrew, Phoenician, Aramaic, Nabataean, Palmyrene, Jewish* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1903), p. 27; Ginsberg, H. L., "'King of Kings' and 'Lord of Kingdoms,'" *AJSLL* 57 (1940), pp. 71–74 (71–72); Fifth century: Avishur, Y., *Phoenician Inscriptions and the Bible*, vol 2 (Jerusalem: A. Rubinstein Publishing, 1979), p. 169; Moscati, *World of the Phoenicians*, 24–25; Schade, A., *Syntactic and Literary Analysis of Ancient Northwest Semitic Inscriptions*, (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press, 2006), p. 139; Slouschz, N., *Thesaurus of Phoenician Inscriptions* (Tel-Aviv: Dvir Publishing, 1941), p. 14; Sixth century: Boyes, P. J., "'The King of the Sidonians': Phoenician Ideologies and the Myth of the Kingdom of Tyre-Sidon," *BASOR* 365 (2012), pp.33–44 (36–37); Donner, H. and Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Band II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 1964), p. 17; Elayi, J., "An Updated Chronology of the Reigns of Phoenician Kings During the Persian Period (539–333 BCE)," *Transeu* 32 (2006), pp. 11–43; Idem, "On Dating the Reigns of the Phoenician Kings in the Persian Period," in Sagona, C. (ed.), *Beyond the Homeland: Markers in Phoenician Chronology*. *ANES* Sup. 28 (Leuven: Peeters, 2008), pp. 97–112 (107); Galling, K., "Eschmunazar und der Herr der Könige," *ZDPV* 79, (1963), pp. 140–151; Kelly, T., "Herodotus and the Chronology of the Kings of Sidon," *BASOR* 268 (1987), pp. 39–56 (40).

18 See Avishur, *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 186–187.

***Eshmunazar*'s Inscription (KAI 14:6–8)**

6–7	*k kl mmlkt w/kl ʾdm*	For any king or any man
	ʾs yptḥ ʿlt mškb z	Who will open the lid of this tomb
	ʾm ʾš yšʾ ʾyt ḥlt mškby	If a person will carry the chest of my coffin
7–8	*ʾm ʾš yʿmsn bm/škb z*	If a person will lift me from this tomb
	ʾl ykn lm mškb ʾt rpʾm	A burial with *Rpʾum* will not be established for him
	wʾl yqbr bqbr	And he will not be buried in a grave
	wʾl ykn lm bn wzrʿ	And a son or descendant will not be established for him

This warning, aimed at any violator of *Eshmunazar*'s tomb, contains several elements that contribute to our understanding of the way the concept of the *Rpʾum* was perceived and developed at Phoenician Sidon. It is clear that the *Rpʾum* are considered as positive in this inscription, for it is a curse to whoever violates the tomb not be buried with or join the *Rpʾum*. Most interpret this warning to mean that the violator will not find his place among the shades in the Underworld.[19] This is partially true; the warnings in the inscription share similar motifs with those reviewed in the Ugaritic text, especially the funerary text KTU 1.161, that highlights the importance of the ancient and recent dead *Rpʾum*; they are the king's ancestors, who are addressed as a dignified group that dwells in the Underworld, and are invoked when a new king of the *Rpʾum* joins them. The circumstances are similar here. *Eshmunazar*, in his last written testimony, explains indirectly that he himself, did earn the great honor of dwelling with *Rpʾum*, but he who violates his tomb will never earn such an honor.[20]

Just like mythical *Kirta* and *Dānʾilu* in Ugaritic texts, who are concerned about their lineage, the warnings in this inscription are also aimed at the destruction of the lineage of the violator.[21] It is like a projection of the fears of a ruler; not joining the *Rpʾum* and not having a lineage of his own. In the warning: *ʾl ykn lm mškb ʾt rpʾm* ("A burial with *Rpʾum* will not be established for him"), the use of the word *ykn* ("will be established"), indicates that being buried among the *Rpʾum* involves a special status that needs to be established.[22] The same word is used in line 8: *wʾl ykn lm bn wzrʿ* ("and a son or descendant

19 See Avishur, *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 175–176; Haelewyck, J. C., "The Phoenician Inscription of Eshmunazar. An Attempt at Vocalization," *BABELAO* 1 (2012), pp. 77–98 (90); Moscati, *World of the Phoenicians*, 41; Slouschz, *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 17.

20 Cf Schade, *Northwest Semitic Inscriptions*, 152, 167.

21 Also, in lines 11–12, 22.

22 Cf *ykn* in meaning of royalty in Biblical literature: Prov 16:12; 25:5; 29:14.

will not be established for him") which is echoed in the Legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.17, I, 25–26): *wykn . bnh . bbt . šrš . bqrb/ hklh* ("and his son will be established in {his} house, a root amidst his palace"), as in both cases, *bn*, *zrʿ*, *šrš*, means the establishment of a "lineage."[23]

This leads us to an important question: who is being addressed in the warnings in this inscription? If an ordinary person cannot be part of the *Rp'um*, why would this warning deter someone from violating the tomb of the king? The answer can be found in the text. Six times, the inscription addresses "a king, a monarchy" (*mmlkt*: lines 4, 6–7, 10, 11, 20, 22), not merely "a man" or "a person" who might disturb the king's final rest. This implies that those who were in charge of *Eshmunazar*'s inscription were concerned not just with vandalism or simple grave robbers, but with a deliberate violation by an agent of another king, hostile to *Eshmunazar*, and this part of the warning is specifically addressed to this potentially destructive king. What is also being implied here is the recognition that other kings, even those who are possible enemies, can also be considered as *Rp'um* and expect to join the deceased *Rp'um* when the time comes. The categorization of rulers and leaders as *Rp'um* is also attested in Ugaritic texts, linking mythical and historical characters to contemporary living kings, as in KTU 1.161 and the Story of *Kirta*. This suggests an early genealogical tradition that places the *Rp'um* as coming from the same origin, maybe starting with the first mythical group of demigods, continuing with *Ditānu* or another earlier ancestor. This lineage spread to the Levantine area to places such as Ugarit, Phoenicia, Canaanite kingdoms and other places, which all preserved the doctrine of the *Rp'um* in their belief systems, and saw their leaders as privileged mortals who turn into the most revered inhabitants of the Underworld postmortem.[24] In any case, when comparing this terrible curse, of *not joining* the honored *Rp'um* in the afterlife to Biblical texts, such as Prov 9:18 or 21:16 (see §4.5.5), where it is a curse to *join* the frightening *Rp'um* in

23 Cf Gen 15:3; 46:7; Ps 102:29, and more.

24 The traditions of a common genealogical origin in different cultures is well attested in literature. For selected studies, see Darshan, G., "The Biblical Account of the Post-Diluvian Generation (Gen.9:20–10:32) in the Light of Greek Genealogical Literature," *VT* 63 (2013), pp. 515–535; Wilson, R. R., *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1977); It also has a strong scientific basis, since some populations in the Levant, such as the Lebanese people in Sidon, have mostly stayed in the same region for millennia, but still share common DNA with the Canaanite people, suggesting that the two derive from the same origin. See Haber, M. et al., "Continuity and Admixture in the Last Five Millennia of Levantine History from Ancient Canaanite and Present-Day Lebanese Genome Sequences," *AJHG* 101 (2017), pp. 274–282.

the afterlife, it is easy to see the opposite and negative approach of the Biblical scribes towards this concept of myth.

***Tabnit*'s Inscription (KAI 13:6–8)**

6–7	*wʾm pt/ḥ tptḥ ʿlty*	And if you shall open my coffin
	wrgz trgzn	And shall move me[25]
	ʾlyn l zrʿ	May a descendant not be established for you
7–8	*bḥym tḥt šm/š*	Amongst the living under the sun
	wmškb ʾt rpʾm	And a burial with *Rpʾum*

The inscription is shorter than *Eshmunazar*'s (8 lines) and focuses mainly on warnings to the possible violator. The violator is being warned of the destruction of his lineage and not joining the *Rpʾum*.[26] There is no specific reference to the king's accomplishments in his life, or a warning that the violator will not be buried. This condensed version is likely to be the source of inspiration for *Eshmunazar*'s elaborate inscription, the next ruling king. It can be deduced by comparing *Tabnit*'s and *Eshmunazar*'s inscriptions that the warning here is also addressed to a potential violator ruler who may interrupt the deceased's final rest. This may also be concluded by a comparison to the mortuary inscription of *Ahiram*, King of Byblos (KAI 1), who ruled during the 10th century BCE. *Ahiram*'s inscription spells out who is being warned (line 2): *mlk bmlkm wskn bs*{k}*nm* ("a king among kings, an agent among agents"). This shows that the formula for these burial inscriptions dealt with the possibility of a usurper, domestic or foreign, who might try to harm the former ruler's tomb as an act of supremacy. The *Rpʾum* are not mentioned in the *Ahiram* inscription, which probably implies that this formulaic warning came at a later time, or that they were not important enough to be mentioned in the text.

Although these are mortuary inscriptions and not legends or myths, we can still find several parallels to the *Rpʾum* in Ugaritic culture. Once again, this term is used to describe the leaders of society, the admirable and perfect mortals, like the heroes of old in the myth. As in KTU 1.161, the *Rpʾum* join the others in death, and are referred to as a group in the Underworld. They do not possess

25 The root R-G-Z here may be used as a double meaning: "to be agitated" and "to be moved," cf 2 Sam 7:10; 22:8; Job 3:17; 37:2 and more. By comparing to *Eshmunazar*'s inscription, the meaning is more probably the latter.

26 Avishur notes that the formula of *mškb ʾt rpʾm*, instead of of *mškb ʿm rpʾm* has Biblical parallels in context to the underworld, Cf Ezek 31:18;32:28. See Avishur, *Phoenician Inscriptions*, 175; Yet, the change between *ʾt* and *ʿm* is a matter of semantics. Cf 2 Sam 7:12: וְשָׁכַבְתָּ אֶת אֲבֹתֶיךָ and Deut 31:16: שֹׁכֵב עִם אֲבֹתֶיךָ.

supernatural power, but they are seen as superior to the average man, even in death, and take an honored seat in the Afterlife.

The Book of Ezekiel provides us with important evidence that the Phoenician kings were probably familiar with the legends of the *Rp'um* as well, and did not only see them as linked to the afterlife. In his prophecy to the Phoenicians in chapter 28 (§4.5.2), Ezekiel turns to the King of Tyre and compares him to *Dān'ilu*, the hero who is also known from the Ugaritic myth (Ezek 28:3). This comparison is crucial, because the prophet must have used rhetorical elements and images that he believed that his listeners were familiar with. There is little doubt in that we can identify the character in Ezek 28:3 as the same hero mentioned in the Legend of *Aqhatu*, one of the *Rp'um*, and so it is clear that the Phoenician kings knew of the living *Rp'um* in Tyre, as well as in Sidon.[27]

3.4 The Latin/Neo-Punic Bilingual Inscription from El-Amrūni (KAI 117)

The third and last Phoenician inscription that mentions the *Rp'um* is carved on fragments of limestone which were found in the debris in the Mausoleum in El-Amrūni, north of Remada, Tunisia, in 1894.[28] It is dated to the time of the Roman Empire, somewhere between the 1st and 3rd centuries AD, hundreds of years later than the inscriptions from Sidon, and about a millennium and a half later than the Ugaritic inscriptions.[29] The bilingual inscription is composed of five lines written in Neo-Punic writing, and eight lines written in Latin. It is a funerary text that commemorates a person named *ʿpwlʾy mʿk*[šm]ʾ *rydʿy*, and in Latin; *Q. Apuleius Maximus Rideus*. According to F. Millar, the deceased

27 For more about Ezekiel's Daniel, see discussion below (§4.5.2).

28 See Lecoy de la Marche, H., "Recherche d'une voie romaine du golfe de Gabès vers Ghadamès," *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* (1894), pp. 403–405; Clermont-Ganneau, Ch., *Études d'archéologie orientale* I (Paris: Librairie Émile Bouillon, 1895), pp. 156–164. See also François, B., "Sudarabique et ouest sémitique," École pratique des hautes études. Section des sciences historiques et philologiques, Livret-Annuaire 21. 2005–2006 (2007), pp. 25–27 (25), who corrects Donner and Röllig who place the origin of KAI 117 in Libya. See Donner, H. and Röllig, W., *Kanaanäische und Aramäische Inschriften*, Band II (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz-Verlag, 1964), p. 122.

29 Donner and Röllig date it to the 1st century AD. See Donner and Röllig, KAI II, 122; Millar, based on Latin lettering, dates it to late 2nd or early 3rd century. See Millar, F., "Local Cultures in the Roman Empire: Libyan, Punic and Latin in Roman Africa," *JRS* 58 (1968), pp. 126–134 (132); Also, Ferchiou, N., "Le mausolée de Q. Apuleius Maxssimus à El Amrouni," *PBSR* 57 (1989), pp. 47–76.

was a member of a "prosperous local family, presumably of farmers," that went through a process of Romanization.[30] The inscription opens with:

lʿl[xx]*ʾrʾpʾm*

Ch. Clermont-Ganneau was the first to connect the letters *rʾpʾm* in the inscription to the *Rpʾum*, based on the corresponding line in Latin: *D*[is] *M*[anibus] *SAC*[rum].[31] This known Latin idiom, which can be found on many Roman tombstones, addresses the *Manes*, the family spirits of the dead that were visited on special occasions, and given gifts, food and wine. J. Rupke explains: "These private rites culminated in two public holidays for the dead: the *Feralia* on February 21, which included sacrifices and offerings to the *Manes*, the ancestral spirits of the dead; and the *Cara Cognatio*(= Caristia) on February 22, when families gathered for a meal and to offer food and incense to the family gods (*Lares*) to maintain good relations with the dead."[32] Clermont-Ganneau sees a part of the letter /ʾ/ after the letters *lʿl* at the beginning of the line and restores it to *lʿl*[n]ʾ *rʾpʾm* ("Aux dieux (des) *Rpʾum* (=aux dieux Manes)."[33] Donner and Röllig see the /ʾ/ prior to *rʾpʾm* as a definite article, and restore the line as: *lʿl*[nm] *ʾrʾpʾm* ("Den göttlichen Totengeistern").[34] In any case, both suggestions translate the word prior to " *Rpʾum* " as "gods" and this is accepted by most scholars.[35]

This use of the *Rpʾum* in this inscription reflects the transformation of this concept over time. It seems that the *Rpʾum* were not as popular in the

30 See Millar, "Local Cultures," 132. See also Adams, J. N., *Bilingualism and the Latin Language* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), p. 218; Tribulato, O., "The Stone-Cutter's Bilingual Inscription from Palermo (*IG* xiv 297 = *CIL* X 7296): A New Interpretation," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 177 (2011), pp. 131–140.

31 See Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, 160.

32 See Rupke, J., *A Companion to Roman Religion* (Hoboken, NJ: Wiley-Blackwell, 2007), p. 115. See also Keppie, L., *Understanding Roman Inscriptions* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1991), p. 101; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 210.

33 See Clermont-Ganneau, *Études d'archéologie orientale*, 164. Also, followed by Jongeling, K., *Handbook of Neo-Punic Inscriptions* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2008), pp. 9–10.

34 See Donner and Röllig, KAI II 122; For more on definite article in Phoenician language see Goshen-Gottstein, M. H., "Definiteness in the Phoenician and Punic Inscriptions," *Leshonenu* (1945–1946), pp. 19–38; Krahmalkov, C. R., *A Phoenician-Punic Grammar*. HdO 54 (Leiden: Brill, 2001), pp. 85–92.

35 See the discussion of *ʾlnm*, *ʿlnm*, *ʾilnym* in Donner and Röllig, KAI II, 122; Knoppers, G. N., "'The God in His Temple': The Phoenician Text from Pyrgi as a Funerary Inscription," *JNES* 51 (1992), pp. 105–120 (116).

Phoenician cultures as they were in Ugarit, as can be seen from their near absence in theophoric data. The idea of the honored *Rp'um*, grouped together in the Underworld, waiting for the living *Rp'um* to join them is depicted in KTU 1.161, and suggested in KAI 13 and 14. In all of these cases, they represent the highest form of men, divine mortals, even after death. The honor of joining them belongs only to great men: kings, special warriors and other honored individuals (as attested in the Ugaritic texts), and they are remembered and honored over and over. It makes sense that over time, other high-status individuals would also wish to join the *Rp'um* in the afterlife, seeing themselves as belonging to the aristocracy of society.

The similarity to the Roman *Manes* suggests that privileged people wished to glorify their ancestors, seeing them as worthy enough to sit at the table of the *Rp'um* in the Underworld. The parallel between the concept of the *Manes* and the *Rp'um* is not perfect, based only on the part played by the *Rp'um* in the afterlife, but it is probably the closest correlation the scribes of the inscription could find. This also hints at the Romanization of the family of *Apuleius Maximus*, who still kept some of the old ways from their origin in the Levant, but combined them with notions from the new culture.[36] This generates an interesting discussion, detailed in L. V. Rutgers' study, regarding the influence the late Roman culture had on the Jewish Diaspora, since the common idiom *Dis Manibus* was indeed found on several Jewish tombstones.[37] Although it is possible that the Jews adopted this tradition, or were not sure of its exact meaning, the archeological evidence reveals that the Jewish tombstones that carry the reference to the *Manes* were probably reused. In one clear case, the inscription *Dis Manibus* was turned facing downwards, so that it would not be visible externally. If the Jews did recognize the *Manes* as *Rp'um*, it conforms with the general fear and rejection of the concept of the *Rp'um* that is expressed in Biblical literature, while in Phoenician culture (or the *Manes* in Roman culture) it is considered to be a positive and beneficial doctrine.

36 According to Suriano, the fact that this inscription is not associated with kings probably implies that the concept of kingship in the ancient Levant was not adopted in the Punic culture of North Africa. See Suriano, M. J., *The Politics of Dead Kings: Dynastic Ancestors in the Book of Kings and Ancient Israel*. FAT II/48 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2010), p. 154, note 18; Yet, the Rephaim were not only kings, but judges and heroes, and an important man such as *Apuleius Maximus* could have been associated with them by the people who buried him.

37 See Rutgers, L. V., *The Jews in Late Ancient Rome: Evidence of Cultural Interaction in the Roman Diaspora*. RGRW 126 (Leiden: Brill, 2000), pp. 269–271.

3.5 Three Relevant Cases

KAI 13, 14 and 117 provide the only evidence for the *Rp'um* in Phoenician texts. Nevertheless, some studies tie other Phoenician sources to the discussion of the *Rp'um*. These sources will be reviewed briefly, since they do not have any direct connection to this study in my view, other than a semantic and philological resemblance.

3.5.1 *The Case of Šdrp'*

A male deity named *Šdrp'* is mentioned in several written and iconographical Phoenician sources from the early first millennium BCE until the time of the Roman Empire. *Šdrp'* is sometimes addressed as *adn* ("lord") and could be affiliated with other deities, such as *ʿnt* or *mlkʿštrt*.[38] This deity also has an iconographical representation, as seen from the so called "Amrit stela," dated to the mid first millennium BCE, that depicts a god standing on a lion in a mountainous terrain. Another depiction of the god can be found in Palmyra, dated to 55 AD, and showing the image of a warrior, holding a spear with a snake twisted around it, and above his other shoulder the image of a scorpion.[39] In a bilingual inscription from Leptis Magna (KAI 127), there is a correlation between the god *Šdrp'* and *Libero Patri*, recognized as the fertility god *Dionysus*. The name of the god also appears in Greek texts, and apparently was part of the Phoenician belief system in several settlements.[40] Most scholars believe that the origin of this god lies in West-Semitic cultures, and so the etymology of his name is usually explained through Semitic languages.[41] The *rp'* element in the name is usually translated in the context of "healing," and some do see *Šdrp'* as a Phoenician healing deity.[42] The *šd* element is translated either as *šēdu* ("spirit, demon") or *šadû* ("mountain," as an analogy for "large, tall").[43]

38 Cf KAI 77, 1 (written as *Šdrb'*); KAI 119, 1; KAI 127, 1; KAI 295, 1.

39 See both images in Pritchard, J. B., *Recovering Sarepta, A Phoenician City: Excavations at Sarafund, 1969–1974, by the University Museum of the University of Pennsylvania* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2014), pp. 100–102.

40 Cf Caquot, A., "Chadrapha, à propos de quelques articles récents," *Syria* 29, (1952), pp. 74–88; Gese, H., *Die Religionen Altsyriens, Altarabiens und der Mandaer* (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer, 1970), pp. 198–201.

41 Levi Della Vida suggests that the etymology might not be Semitic. See Levi Della Vida, G., "The Phoenician God Satrapes," *BASOR* 87 (1942), pp. 29–32 (31).

42 Cf Caquot, "Chadrapha," 88; Puech, E., "Les inscriptions phéniciennes d'Amrit et les dieux guérisseurs du sanctuaire," *Syria* 63 (1986), pp. 327–342 (337); Starcky, J., "Autour d'une dédicace palmyrénienne à Sadrafa et à Du'anat," *Syria* 26 (1949), pp. 43–85 (77).

43 For the first translation see de Moor, J. C., "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 323–345 (329); Puech "Inscriptions phéniciennes," 337. For the second see Gutmann, J., "The Canaanite God Shadrapa and his Nature," *Tarbiẓ* (1948–1949), pp. 68–78 (78).

The *rp'* element is used in some studies to link *Šdrp'* with the *Rp'um*. J. Starcky creates links between the Ugaritic belief system and the Phoenician, finding semantic connections between the eight *Rp'um* (KTU 1.20, II, 1), and the etymology of the name *Ešmun*, and discusses a possible closeness between *Šdrp'* and the *Rp'um*.[44] J. Gutmann finds traces of a god named *Raipan* in Greek sources, and connects it to a place named *Rapon*/*Ripan* in the *Bāšān* area, that the *Rp'um* are affiliated with in Biblical sources. He suggests that the *Rp'um* might have been named after their god, *Raipan*, that might be *Šdrp'*.[45] Others connect *Šdrp'* as a healing deity with *rp'u b'l* (KTU 1.22, I, 8).[46] The limited knowledge about the Phoenician religion does not allow us to make any firm conclusions about the function of *Šdrp'* in general, other than his parallel position with *Libero Patri* (KAI 127), and his importance from the standpoint of the Phoenician people. The etymology of his name may define his function as a healing deity, but it is also possible that the etymology I suggested for the name of the *Rp'um* could be considered here as well. Since *Rp'* probably also means "whole, flawless, perfect," it is possible to translate *Šdrp'* as "great and flawless" or "flawless spirit/god." In any case, no clear evidence ties the *Rp'um* to this deity.

3.5.2 *The Case of mrp'*

The word *mrp'* appears several times in Phoenician texts. The most relevant evidence is found in an inscription on a fragment of marble from Kition (CIS I, 41):

1) ... *hsm* ...
2) ... *n'mlkt* ...
3) ... *b'lmrp'k*....[47]

Some studies see *b'lmrp'* (line 3) as one of the names of the Phoenician god *B'l*, affiliated with healing.[48] K. Spronk sees a direct connection between Ugaritic *rp'u b'l* in KTU 1.22, I, 8, *rp'u* in KTU 1.108 and Phoenician *b'lmrp'*, and uses it as

44 See Starcky, "Sadrafa," 79–80.

45 See Gutmann, "Shadrapa," 70–77; This opinion is not widely accepted, cf Caquot, "Chadrapha," 82.

46 See Astour, M. C., *Hellenosemitica*, (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 238–239; Dussaud, R., *Les Découvertes de Ras Shamra et l'Ancien Testament*, 2nd edition (Paris: P. Geuthner, 1941), p. 185; de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim," 329.

47 See a possible restoration of the inscription in CIS, 61.

48 Astour reads "Baal of Healing" in his comparison with the god Bellerophon. See Astour, *Hellenosemitica*, p. 239; de Moor reads "Ba'lu the Healer." See de Moor, "Rāpi'ūma-Rephaim," 329; Puech reads "Ba'al guérissant." See Puech, "Inscriptions phéniciennes," 337.

evidence to demonstrate that the god *Baʿalu* is the first of the *Rpʾum*.[49] *Rpʾu* in KTU 1.22 and KTU 1.108 should be identified as a king or a warrior, as previously discussed (§2.2, §2,7), and there is no doubt that in both cases *Rpʾu* should not be identified with *Baʿalu*. In general, seeing the god *Baʿalu* as a healing deity seems very plausible, as he is recognized as a "god of life" and has healing abilities in Ugaritic myth.[50] Nevertheless, considering the state of the fragment, no firm conclusion can be drawn. Furthermore, the word *mrpʾ* (which sometimes appears as *mrpʾm*) is the name of a Phoenician month.[51] We have only of a partial list of the Phoenician months: *bl*, *mpʾ*, *mrpʾ*, *zbḥsms*, *ʾtnm*, *pʿlt*, *krr*, *zhḥ*, *ḥyr*.[52] And as CIS also imply, the word *mrpʾ* in CIS I, 41 might refer to the month, and not the god. F. Vattioni addresses texts such as KTU 1.6, VI, 45–47 and KAI 13,7–8, which in his opinion, reveal a closeness between the Sun and the *Rpʾum* (as shades of the dead), suggesting that the month *mrpʾ* might be related to them.[53] Based on this assumption, R. R. Stieglitz places the month *mrpʾ* around December, at the darkest time of the year.[54] The word *mrpʾ* is perhaps connected, in some way, to the concept of "healing," but to say more would be guesswork. And so, the month *mrpʾ* or the inscription CIS I, 41, cannot be linked to the concept of the *Rpʾum* with any certainty.

3.5.3 *The Case of "Phoenician ʿOg"*

The final case of the three deals with an inscription from Byblos, that was entitled "Byblos 13," written on a piece of fragmented white marble that was probably a part of a sarcophagus. Seven partial lines of the inscription are visible. It is dated to the time of the Persian Empire, and is now displayed in

49 See Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 174; Also, de Moor, "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," 329.

50 Cf Cassuto, U., "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts", *IEJ* 12 (1962), pp. 77–86; The god *Baʿalu* heals and revives eagles after breaking their wings in the Legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.19, III, 11–13; 25–27).

51 Cf KAI 33, 1; KAI 111, 3; CIS I, 124, 3 and more.

52 See Cohen, M. E., *The Cultic Calendars of the Ancient Near East* (Bethesda, MD: CDL Press, 1993), p. 384.

53 See Vattioni, F., "Mal. 3,20 e un mese del calendario fenicio," *Biblica* 40 (1959), pp. 1012–1015 (1014–1015).

54 Stieglitz provides a slightly different list of Phoenician months than that of M. Cohen: *ʾtnm*, *bl*, *zbḥsms*, *zyb*, *ḥyr*, *krr*, *mpʾ*, *mpʾlpny*, *mrpʾ*(*m*), *mtn*, *pʿlt*, [x]*rm*. See Stieglitz, R. R., "The Phoenician Punic Menology," in Lubetski, M. et al. (eds.), *Boundaries of the Ancient Near Eastern World: A Tribute to Cyrus H. Gordon*. JSOT Sup. 273 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1998), pp. 211–221 (211–216).

The National Museum of Beirut. The case in question deals only with line 2 of the inscription:

[...]*lt ʾrn zn wlrgz ʿṣmy hʿg ytbqšn hʾdr wbkl d*r[...]

Starcky restores the beginning of the line with: [... lpṭḥ ʿ]*lt*, and translates: "... Pour ouvrir] le sarcophage et pour troubler les os, le ʿOg me cherchera, le Puissant."[55] The idea of mentioning *ʿOg*, the Biblical King of the *Bāšān*, who is known as "the last of the Rephaim,"[56] as a threat aimed for grave robbers in this single fragmented Phoenician text has convinced others; M. H. Pope sees a connection between the threat of invoking *ʿOg* against grave robbers and the threatening character of *ʿOg* in Jewish folklore.[57] According to Spronk, *ʿOg* was deified from an ancient ancestral king, like the character of *Ditānu* that appears in several Ugaritic texts.[58] According to G. del Olmo Lete, the character of *ʿOg* went through several stages until it became a divine entity in Phoenician culture. He also identifies the region of the *Bāšān* as a "Canaanite Hell," or "Elysian Fields."[59] Other studies find a link between Biblical *ʿOg*, the Byblos 13 inscription, and other mythical concepts in Aegean culture, suggesting a certain widespread development of the concept.[60]

These far-reaching conclusions rely on very little evidence, as they try to base a world of concepts on an unintelligible and partial line from a fragmented text. There is no doubt that the word *hʿg* in the Byblos 13 inscription should not be connected to Biblical *ʿOg* for several reasons: Firstly, as several scholars admit, interpreting line 2 as Starcky suggests is problematic based on syntactic issues; the unnecessary definite article in the word *hʿg*, the separation

55 See Starcky, J., "Une Inscription Phénicienne de Byblos," *MUSJ* 45 (1969), pp. 260–273 (262).

56 See Deut 3:11; Josh 12:4; 13:12.

57 See Pope, M. H., "Notes on the Rephaim Texts from Ugarit," in de Jong Ellis, M. (ed.), *Essays on the Ancient Near East in Memory of Jacob Joel Finkelstein* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1977), pp. 163–182 (171); Vidal creates links between this inscription, the Ugaritic data in KTU 1.108 and Biblical sources, in his attempt to track the tradition of the first inhabitants of the Transjordan area. See Vidal, J., "Tierra de gigantes. La "protohistoria" de Transjordania según la tradición Cananea," *Habis* 38 (2007), pp. 31–40.

58 See Spronk, *Beatific Afterlife*, 211; Spronk also restores the end of this line as: *wbkl d*r [wdr], ("in all generations").

59 See del Olmo Lete, G., "Og," in *DDD*, 638–640; del Olmo Lete, G., "Bašan o El 'Infierno' Cananeo," *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 51–60.

60 Cf Azize, J., "The "Byblos 13" Inscription, "King Og" and "Athena Ogga," *Folia Orientalia* 40 (2004), pp. 215–232; Noegel, S. B., "The Aegean Ogygos of Boeotia and the Biblical Og of Bashan: Reflections of the Same Myth," *ZAW* 110 (1998), pp. 411–426.

between the words *hʿg* and *hʾdr* by the verb *ytbqšn* (B-Q-Š: "to seek, require, ask"), which also has a difficult morphology in this context, and so on. This make the text far too difficult to make sense of.[61] Secondly, there is no evidence of *ʿOg* in any of the Phoenician texts that might imply that he was a systematical part of this belief system. The threatening character of *ʿOg* is a part of the Israelite Exodus narrative in Biblical texts. The defeat of the Amorite kings is an important high point from the standpoint of the Israelites before conquering Canaan, as explained below (§4.4.1.3). The story of *ʿOg* is directly connected to the Transjordan battles, which the Phoenician people take no part in. The two cultures may share mythical elements, but not the same historical narrative. If *ʿOg* had appeared in such an inscription, it would only be to scare a Jewish grave robber. Thirdly, it is clear that the *Rpʾum* are considered as a positive force in Ugaritic and Phoenician cultures. They are the perfect, divine mortals, the rulers and kings, the heroes and the warriors. They are *not* threatening ghosts or demons from the Underworld. Furthermore, it is a curse not to dwell with them in the Afterlife (KAI 13–14). People requested their closeness, and they are not an object of terror. They are considered frightening in Biblical texts, by scribes who rejected the mythical concept of the *Rpʾum* and demonized them. And so, what is true for Biblical ideas, might be the exact opposite in other sources. Unfortunately, even after rejecting the connection between Byblos 13 and Biblical *ʿOg*, the text is still too fragmented to propose a better translation.

3.6 Conclusion of the Phoenician Evidence

The Phoenician data provides us with very few examples of texts which mention the *Rpʾum*. The three examples, KAI 13, KAI 14 and KAI 117 are all mortuary inscriptions, and by context, the *Rpʾum* that are presented there have the same function: the most honored group in the Afterlife. Using the Biblical source of Ezek 28:1–10, it can be deduced that the Phoenician people knew versions of stories of legendary living *Rpʾum*, and they were not only a part of funerary rituals. Unfortunately, we do not know of the Phoenician mythology and so we cannot understand more about the part played by the *Rpʾum* in this culture. To assume that they have the same exact function as in Ugarit would be incorrect, in light of the differences between the belief systems in the Phoenician colonies. The *Tabnit* and *Eshmunazar* inscriptions reveal that kings wished to join

61 Cf Röllig, W., "Eine Neue Phoenizische Inschrift aus Byblos," *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 2 (1974), pp. 1–15 (4–6); Teixidor, J., "Bulletin d'épigraphie sémitique 1972," *Syria* 49 (1972), pp. 413–449 (431).

the *Rpʾum* in death, as also depicted in KTU 1.161. The *Rpʾum* were considered to be positive beings. It was a blessing to join them, and a curse not to. KAI 117 demonstrates that this concept became more and more accepted over time, as wealthy individuals could also see themselves and their ancestors as *Rpʾum*, as the West-Semitic idea was blended with the *Manes* from Roman culture. The use of the concept of the *Rpʾum* also teaches us of the Phoenician belief in the Afterlife, and the importance of keeping a connection with dead relatives, as also seen in Ugaritic culture.

The theophoric Phoenician data reveals that from the standpoint of the people, the *Rpʾum* were far less important than in the Ugaritic culture. It cannot be claimed that the idea of *Rpʾum* faded over time, since the theophoric data comes both from early and late sources. The concept of the *Rpʾum* probably originated in an earlier Semitic culture, and became a part of the belief system in the Phoenician colonies. Based on the data we have; the concept was probably less popular than in Ugarit. Finally, the three cases presented here, of *Šdrpʾ*, *mrpʾ* and *ʿOg*, reveal more about the study of the *Rpʾum* than about the *Rpʾum* themselves, as many pieces of different puzzles may be used to solve one another, and the final result is less than clear.

CHAPTER 4

The Biblical Evidence

4.1 Introduction to the Biblical Evidence

The Rephaim are mentioned about thirty times in several books: Genesis, Deuteronomy, Joshua, Samuel, Isaiah, Ezekiel (*Dān'ilu*), Psalms, Proverbs, Job and Chronicles. These various references demonstrate how Biblical scribes dealt with this concept; the attitude towards the Rephaim is the complete opposite of what we have seen so far. The beloved and divine mortals, the heroes and leaders who are the founders of dynasties and kingdoms, have become negative and frightening figures. Whenever we encounter the Rephaim in Biblical texts they are either dead or being killed, enemies of Israel and of God, giants, monstrous humans and objects of terror, in life and death.

The Biblical sources concerning the Rephaim may not be the earliest of the three main corpora in this study, but they are definitely the first to have been interpreted and translated for the last 2000 years. In my opinion, these first impressions of the Rephaim have had a strong impact on the minds of many scholars, who have taken the Biblical sources as the base, rather than the ancient Near Eastern sources. As a result, the Ugaritic and Phoenician Rephaim have been falsely interpreted according to Biblical conceptions.

Early scribes, commentators and translators who dealt with the concept of the Rephaim in the Bible describe them in various ways: The Book of Jubilees (29:9–11) mentions that the Rephaim were an ancient race of giants, about 7–10 cubits tall, who dwelled in the Transjordan area between Ammon and Mount Hermon. They were evil doers, who were destroyed by God, who replaced them with the Amorite people.[1] The Septuagint confusingly translate the word "Rephaim" as *ραφαιν*, *τιτάνων* ("titans"), *ἰατροὶ* ("physicians") and *γίγαντας* ("giants").[2] Both Targumim translate the word as *gībārīn* ("heroes," "giants"). Later on, a tradition became rooted in the Jewish commentary in the Middle Ages, which saw the etymology for the word "Rephaim" as derived from Hebrew רפה (R-P-Y, "weak, sink, relax"). For example, Rabbi Shlomo Yitzchaki

1 It is clear that the depiction of the Rephaim in the Book of Jubilees is composed of several Biblical texts such as Deut 3:8–11; Isa 26:14 and more, and does not rely on different sources.

2 See examples: *Ραφαιν* (Gen 15:20; Deut 2:11, 20; 3:11,13; Josh 15:8; 2 Sam 23:13); *τιτάνων* (2 Sam 5:18, 22); *ἰατροὶ* (Isa 26:14; Ps 88:11); *γίγαντας* (Gen 14:5; Josh 12:4; 13:12; 2 Sam 21:22). See also table in Wyatt, N., *The Archaeology of Myth: Papers on Old Testament Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2010), pp. 47–48.

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(Rashi), in his commentary on Deut 2:11, explains that seeing the Rephaim, weakens one's hands. In his commentary on Prov 2:18, the commentator Rabbi Ibn Ezra explains that the Rephaim are depicted as the dead because they are *weak* and *feeble*.[3]

As mentioned in the introduction, the discovery of the Ugaritic sources made scholars reconsider the etymology of the word, and to translate R-P-ʾ as "healing" or "physician," as also suggested twice by the Septuagint (Isa 26:14; Ps 88:11), but without proper context.[4] Moreover, regarding the concept of healing: many Biblical texts highlight the position of God as a healer, and as the one who is responsible for health as much as he is responsible for sickness.[5] Knowledge of medicine and the human body was very widespread. The embalmers in Gen 50:2 are also referred to as *rōpʾîm* ("physicians"). Midwives of that era must have had medical knowledge, as did priests, as can be seen in their knowledge of infections.[6] Nevertheless, as in the Ugaritic and Phoenician evidence, the connection between "healing" and the Rephaim is completely absent from Biblical texts.[7] Furthermore, all of the early translations and commentators see them as malevolent, frightening and negative beings. Both words, "*rōpʾîm*" (רֹפְאִים) and "*Rᵉpāʾîm*" (רְפָאִים), derive from the same root, as discussed above (§2.10); the healers cure wounds and strive to bring people back to their perfect state, and the Rephaim in myth are flawless, perfect and righteous mortals.

3 This opinion was held until a later stage, prior to the discovery of the Ugaritic texts. See Karge, P., *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1917), p. 622.

4 Or "mending." See 1 Kgs 18:30.

5 Cf Gen 20:17; Ex 15:26; Num 12:13; Deut 28:35; Isa 19:22 and more. For more on the healing position of God, see Brown, M. L., *Israel's Divine Healer* (Grand Rapids, MI: Zondervan Academic, 1995); O'Kennedy, D. F., "The Metaphor of Yahweh as Healer in the Prophetic Books of the Old Testament," *die Skriflig* 41 (2007), pp. 443–455; Rouillard, H., "El Rofé en Nombres 12, 13," *Semitica* 37 (1987), pp. 17–46.

6 See Leibowitz, J. O., "Rᵉpûâ," EB vol 6 (1976), pp. 407–425 (411–412); Cf Ex 1:15–20; Lev 12–13; Deut 24:8. Medicinal and healing knowledge may also be implied by the words of the prophets. Cf Isa 1:6.

7 Some claim to see this connection in 2 Chr 16:12. This suggestion should be entirely rejected, as discussed below (§4.6.2). Annus claims to find a Greek connection that puts dead heroes as healers and Titans all in the same basket. See Annus, A., "Are there Greek Rephaim? On the Etymology of Greek Meropes and Titanes," *UF* 31 (1999), pp. 13–30; There is not a single piece of evidence of Ugaritic or Phoenician Rephaim as giants. The Biblical standpoint is unique in this way, but as discussed below, the Rephaim were not the only ones who were inflated into giants, but other enemies of Israel were too, in order to glorify their victories.

4.2 The Theophoric Evidence

As in the case of the Ugaritic and Phoenician evidence, it is difficult to distinguish between the possible meanings of the root R-P-ʾ in personal names, which could refer to "healing," "mending," the "Rephaim," or "flawless." In the Ugaritic data, the R-P-ʾ element is very important from the standpoint of the people, and it is ranked as the 7th most "popular deity" in personal names.[8] In the Phoenician data, the number of names containing the R-P-ʾ element is negligible, which might indicate the unpopularity of the concept of the Rephaim, despite the epigraphic evidence in three known inscriptions (KAI 13, 14, 117). In his monumental concordance, S. Mandelkern created a database of names of geographic locations, deities and people in Biblical literature.[9] This database is composed of over 2,200 names, and may provide a general view of the use of the R-P-ʾ element. The relevant Biblical names are: *Rāpûʾ* (Num 13:9), *Yirpʾēl* (Josh 18:27), *Rāpāʾ* (1 Chr 4:12; 8:2) and *Rᵉpāʾēl* (1 Chr 26:7). Mandelkern also includes the names *Rāpāh* (1 Chr 8:37) and *Rᵉpāyāh* (Neh 3:9; 1 Chr 3:21; 4:42; 7:2; 9:43), even without the appearance of the final Aleph. Each one of these names might be interpreted as referring to the Rephaim, or not.

There are some examples of the R-P-ʾ element in names in the archeological epigraphic evidence of ancient Hebrew inscriptions which were collected from Judea, Samaria, Sinai, some Transjordan settlements and other locations, that is mostly dated to the first millennium BCE, such as *Rpʾ*, *Bn Rpʾ*, *Rpʾyhw* and *Rapa-Yāma*.[10] The locations of these specific texts range from Moab,

8 See van Soldt, W. H., "Divinities in Personal Names at Ugarit," in Matoïan, V. and Al-Maqdissi, M. (eds.), *Ras Shamra – Ugarit* 24, *Études ougaritiques* IV (Leuven: Peeters, 2016), pp. 95–108.

9 See Mandelkern, S., *Concordantiae*, 8th Edition (Jerusalem and Tel Aviv: Schocken, 1969), pp. 1349–1532.

10 Cf Fowler, J. D., *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study*, JSOT Sup 49 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), pp. 218–219; Fowler also brings several examples of theophoric names such as *yrpyh* or *yrpʾl* as he recognizes the R-P-ʾ element as "to make loose" (Aramaic) or "to heal" (Hebrew). Other interpretations for names that Fowler brings, as *nbwrp* ("*Nabû* has healed (or loosens)") or *Adad-ra-pa-aʾ* ("Adad has healed (or loosens)") demonstrate the difficulty of identifying the specific meaning of R-P-ʾ regardless of the discussion of the Rephaim. The name *Rapa-Yāma*, father of *Aḥīqam*, is attested among the Judean names found in the Al-Yahudu tablets. See Alstola, T., *Judeans in Babylonia: A Study of Deportees in the Sixth and Fifth Centuries BCE*. CHANE 109 (Leiden: Brill, 2020), pp. 133–142; L. E. Pearce, "Identifying Judeans and Judean Identity in the Babylonian Evidence," in J. Stökl and C. Waerzeggers (eds.), *Exile and Return: The Babylonian Context*. BZAW 478 (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2015), pp. 7–32 (22); See also, Abraham, K., "An Inheritance Division among Judeans in Babylonia from the

Jerusalem and Samaria among others.[11] Is it possible to differentiate between the meanings of R-P-ʾ in names in different cultures? The answer lies in probability. For example, in Biblical texts there are about seventy occurrences of the use of R-P-ʾ meaning "healing," while every mention of the Rephaim is negative. This raises the probability that the correct interpretation of the R-P-ʾ element in Hebrew names is "healing," (or "mending"), considering the common view of the Rephaim. On the other hand, in the Ugaritic texts, we barely have a single use of R-P-ʾ meaning "healing" (*trpa*, "remedy," "cure," KTU 1.114, 28), while every mention of the Rephaim is positive. This raises the probability that the correct interpretation of the R-P-ʾ element in the Ugaritic names is in the context of the Rephaim.

4.3 Why Are the Rephaim Treated as Negative Characters in the Bible?

The answer to this question is bound up with monotheistic ideas which are expressed by Biblical scribes. The idea of denying the divinity of deities, objects, places, elements of nature and of course, men, and accepting only the divinity of one deity, has been widely debated by scholars. Some claim that the concept of Biblical monotheism was rooted in the fundamental conceptions of folk faith, even before the formation of the people of Israel, and was not a result of a gradual process or a historical event.[12] Others, such as W. F. Albright and those who followed his work, believe that the birth of monotheism from polytheism begins with Moses, in the formation of the people of

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Early Persian Period," in Lubetski, M. (ed.), *New Seals and Inscriptions, Hebrew, Idumean, and Cuneiform* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2007), pp. 206–221.

11 Cf Ahituv, S., *HaKetav VeHaMiktav* (Jerusalem: Bialik Publishing, 2005), pp. 270, 326; Davies, G. I., *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), p. 487; Dobbs-Allsopp, F. W., Roberts, J. J. M. et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions: Texts from the Biblical Period of the Monarchy with Concordance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2005), pp. 619, 799; Some studies read an inscription found on an ostracon from Horvat *Uza* in the Israeli Negev, dated circa 7–6 centuries BCE, like so: *Hšʿyhw . bn . Nwy . mRpʾm* (line 3). *mRpʾm* is translated as "from + (Valley of) Rephaim." Cf Ahituv, *HaKetav*, 154–155; Dobbs-Allsopp et al., *Hebrew Inscriptions*, 799; Comparing the letter /ʾ/ in the suggested word, *mRpʾm*, to the one in the name *ʾḥqm* (line 1), reveals that the epigraphic differences are very prominent. Furthermore, the final /*m*/ is written like the letter /*n*/. Accordingly, Beit-Arieh suggests reading the name as *Mrntn*, which seems more accurate. See י׳ בית אריה, "אוסטרקון אחקם מחורבת עוזה," ארץ ישראל יח (1985), עמ׳ 94–96; י׳ בית אריה, "חורבת עוזה – מצודת גבול בנגב המזרחי," קדמוניות יט (1986), עמ׳ 37–38.

12 See י׳ קויפמן, תולדות האמונה הישראלית. הדפסה רביעית (ירושלים/תל אביב: ביאליק ודביר, 1960), pp. 1–23.

Israel in Egypt in the mid-second millennium BCE. J. Bright states: "though the full implications of monotheism were centuries in being drawn, in this functional sense Israel believed in but one God from the beginning."[13] According to this perception, the Israelites as a people began as depicted in the Bible, by believing in a single omnipotent deity, and on occasion strayed from their path to follow other polytheistic religions, only to return after receiving punishments. B. Halpern explains that the monotheistic concept might have been tolerant of other forms of religions at first, yet grew more and more radical over time.[14] This approach mostly relies on Biblical data and was not accepted by all.[15] Other approaches to the formation of monotheism rely heavily on the archaeological and epigraphic evidence along with the Biblical data, and suggest that Biblical scribes do not necessarily reflect the reality of their time. As J. S. Anderson says: "the Hebrew Bible was formulated when monotheism was the norm. Strict monotheism was projected back onto the early days of Israel and Judah to pass off the novelty of strict monotheism as a venerable tradition."[16]

Some studies suggest the existence of a native pantheon in ancient Israel, which was composed of a main masculine deity and his consort, as well as other minor deities. These studies deny early monotheism, and suggest that its formation came in later times, before or after the Judean exile. They claim that this was a gradual process that denied the divinity of deities while favoring one, and thus collapsed the pantheon.[17] The original position of Yahweh in this pantheon is obscure. Some see him as an original part of it, and others as an outsider who slowly became identified with *'Ilu*, head of the pantheon, and along with Asherah, his consort, was worshipped in Judea.[18] This scenario,

13 See Bright, J., *A History of Israel* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 1959), p. 140, also, 100–101, 129–130; Bright continued Albright's approach. See Albright, W. F., *From the Stone Age to Christianity* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1946), pp. 161–170; 196–207; Albright, W. F., *Archaeology and the Religion of Israel* (Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1956), p. 177.

14 Halpern, B., "'Brisker Pipes than Poetry': The Development of Israelite Monotheism", In M. J. Adams (ed.), *From Gods to God: The Dynamics of Iron Age Cosmologies* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2009), pp. 13–56 (55).

15 See Meek, T. J., "Monotheism and the Religion of Israel," *JBL* 61 (1942), pp. 21–43.

16 See Anderson, J. S., *Monotheism and Yahweh's Appropriation of Baal* (London/New-York: T&T Clark, 2015), p. 37.

17 See Anderson, *Monotheism*, 23–37, for evidence of a native pantheon.

18 See Smith, M. S., *The Origins of Biblical Monotheism: Israel's Polytheistic Background and the Ugaritic Texts* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), pp. 143–146; idem, *The Memoirs of God: History, Memory, and the Experience of the Divine in Ancient Israel* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 2014), pp. 10–11.

however, is not accepted by all scholars.[19] In any event, the emergence of absolute monotheism created the urgency of denying any idea or rhetoric which might suggest otherwise. As M. S. Smith points out: "Monotheistic statements do not herald a new age of religion but explain Yahwistic monolatry in absolute terms. As rhetoric, monotheism reinforced Israel's exclusive relationship with its deity. Monotheism is a kind of inner community discourse establishing a distance from outsiders; it uses the language of Yahweh's exceptional divine status beyond and in all reality ("there are no other deities but the Lord") to absolutize Yahweh's claim on Israel and to express Israel's ultimate fidelity to Yahweh. Monotheism is therefore not a new cultural step but expresses Israel's relationship with Yahweh."[20]

Even though the belief systems differ in parts of the Levant, evidence shows that Phoenician colonies, Ugarit, Canaan, Philistine lands and ancient Israel shared a close native pantheon from which the concept of the Rephaim emerge. When a more absolute monotheistic approach motivated scribes to deny different aspects of the divinity of other beings, the Rephaim were included as well, as demonstrated in this chapter. Many clues in the Ugaritic texts point to the conclusion that the Rephaim are a group of divine mortals, offspring to the gods, who have earned the right to lead humanity in times of war and peace by their lineage. This conclusion is also supported by Biblical data, which creates a direct link between the mortal offspring of God and the Rephaim. However, the treatment that the Rephaim receive from Biblical scribes shows that there was a strong controversy and deliberate efforts to destroy any perception that mortals who considered themselves descendants of God could still exist. The assault against the Rephaim also proves that they had been a part of the Israelite belief system at some point, but were rejected at a very early stage (see §4.5.2). This controversy does not begin with the Rephaim, but earlier, with the obscure deities known as the "Sons of God," who already appear during the first generations of humanity (Gen 6:1–4):

> 1. *When men began to increase on earth and daughters were born to them.*
> 2. *The Sons of God saw how beautiful the daughters of men were and took women from among those that pleased them.* 3. *And God said, "My breath shall not abide in man forever, since he too is flesh; let the days allowed him be one hundred and twenty years."* 4. *It was then and later too, that the Nephilim appeared on earth, when the Sons of God cohabited with the*

19 See Lemaire, A., *The Birth of Monotheism: The Rise and Disappearance of Yahwism* (Washington: Biblical Archaeology Society, 2007), p. 62.

20 See Smith, *Biblical Monotheism*, 154.

daughters of men, who bore them offspring. They were the heroes of old, the men of renown.

Most modern scholars agree that the "Sons of God" in this passage are not an allegory for rulers or judges, as suggested by most Medieval Jewish commentaries, but that they reflect mythological concepts of the early stages of the Israelite religion, which is another possible sign of a native pantheon. As in other known mythologies, we find a main masculine deity, who is surrounded by a divine council of deities that may be seen as his descendants.[21] These "Sons" are not "angels," who are direct agents of the word of God on earth, but independent beings, capable of having their own minds and agenda.[22] The Sons of God have sexual desires, a biological resemblance to humans, and they take women as they choose, as wives, or just to fulfill their needs.[23] According to A. Rofé, there is enough evidence to suggest a process of degradation of minor gods or the Sons of Gods in different Biblical texts that depict the deliberate attempts to reject this concept entirely.[24] For example, the Sons of God are diminished in comparison to their father in Ps 89:7. In Ps 82 they (addressed as בְּנֵי עֶלְיוֹן, אֱלֹהִים) are blamed for doing a poor job in their divine positions, bringing misfortune on humanity, and are punished by dying like mortals, after their divinity has been taken from them (6–7). In the book of Job (1–2) Satan (*śśāṭān*) appears as one of the Sons of God, a malevolent force who argues with God, and leads righteous Job to his miserable fate, while the other Sons are silent characters.[25] These examples, as well as the characters in Gen 6:1–4, reveal a consistent message with a clear purpose: to diminish all other divine beings in the eyes of the people, while strengthening the standing of God, probably in order to eradicate the former from the Israelite belief

21 Cf *bn ʾilm* in Ugaritic in KTU 1.4, III, 14; VIII, 16; KTU 1.5, I, 12 and more. For *bn ʾilm* in Phoenician, see KAI 26 A, III, 19 and maybe KAI 19, 1 and KAI 307, 6. Cf *puḫur ilī* in Akkadian, CAD P (486–487); For selected works of the assembly of the gods, see Mullen, E. T., *The Divine Council in Canaanite and early Hebrew Literature*. HSM 24 (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989); Smith, *Biblical Monotheism*, 41–60.

22 See Cassuto, U., *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis*, Vol I (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1974), pp. 200–201; In 1 Enoch 6:2, that depicts a later tradition, the Sons of God are already identified as "angels."

23 Hebrew לקח appears many times in the context of marriage, but also in the context of rape, sexual relationships or taking without permission. Cf Gen 12:15; Gen 34:2; Est 2:8.

24 Rofé explains the appearance of the concept of "angels" in Biblical literature as a result of different processes that led to the monotheistic belief system. See א׳ רופא, מלאכים במקרא, (ירושלים: מאגנס, 2012), pp. 39–97.

25 For more evidence of gods and the Sons of God, see Ex 15:1; Ps 29:1; Job 38:7; Dan 3:25.

system. There is no need for the Sons, only the Father, and changing the story changes the religion.[26]

Back to Gen 6:1–4, after the Sons of God take the daughters of men, the scribe or the editor chooses to end the paragraph with a verse that articulates God's opinion of these matters.[27] He does not condemn the actions of his Sons, but knows the outcome in advance; pregnant women who will deliver children of divine lineage. He limits human existence to 120 years, making sure that the boundary between the divine and human will remain unbroken. God had already made sure that humans would not be eternal beings when he expelled Adam and Eve from Eden, before they became immortal by eating from the Tree of Life (Gen 3:22–24). And so, a smaller race of divine (famous) heroes (גִּבֹּרִים, אַנְשֵׁי הַשֵּׁם) is born, but they are still mortal, like the Rephaim in Ugaritic myth. There is a certain vagueness in Gen 6:4, regarding whether the "heroes" are simply called "Nephilim," whether the Nephilim are actually the Sons of God, or maybe both.[28] The saying: "*It was then and later too*" (6:4) reveals that this, as far as we know, is a continuing process, and not a single incident. God did not stop his "Sons" from carrying out their deeds, nor did he destroy them immediately afterwards. It is reasonable to assume that according to this tradition, the Sons of God probably continued to exist in later times, taking women for themselves from time to time if they pleased, and this led to the birth of more divine heroes, even after the Great Flood.[29]

This raises an intriguing question: what happened to these demigod heroes? Unfortunately, explicit information about these heroes stops here, until we learn that the Nephilim are regarded as monstrous giants that dwell in ancient

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26 For selected studies of the Sons of God, see Cassuto, *Genesis*, 200–206; Cooke, G., "The Sons of (the) God(s)", *ZAW* 76 (1964), pp. 22–47; Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012), pp. 53–70; Hendel, R. S., "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 13–26; Kraeling, E. G., "The Significance and Origin of Gen. 6:1–4," *JNES* 6 (1947), pp. 193–208; Parker, S. B., "Sons of (the) God(s)," in *DDD*, pp. 794–800; Rofé, *Angels*, 74–77.

27 For a discussion about the order of verses 3–4, see Emanueli, M., "The Sons of God Took Wives Whomever They Choose," *BM* (1975), pp. 150–152.

28 Doak discusses the use of N-P-L in this passage and also in Ezek 32:17–32. See Doak, B. R., "Ezekiel's Topography of the (Un-)Heroic Dead in Ezekiel 32:17–32," *JBL* 132 (2013), pp. 607–624.

29 Darshan believes that the race of heroes was destroyed by the Flood. See Darshan, G., "The Story of the Sons of God and the Daughters of Men (Gen. 6:1–4) in Light of the Hesiodic 'Catalogue of Women'," *Shnaton* (2014), pp. 155–178 (177–178); According to some traditions, *'Og*, one of the children of the Sons of God, survives the Flood by clinging on to the Ark, and making an alliance with Noah's children. See Chapters of Rabbi Eliezar 23:8; Zevahim 113:2.

Canaan (Num 13:33): "*We saw the* Nephilim *there, the Sons of Giants of the* Nephilim, *and we looked like grasshoppers to ourselves, and so we must have looked to them*." This verse connects two myths: the race of divine heroes, and the myth of giants. In his extensive study of the motif of giants in Biblical texts, Doak recognizes the problem here: "We seem to have an awkward interpretive dilemma, in that the products of the divine-human miscegenation, whether they are the ancient Gibborim or Nephilim (or both) …"[30]

Giants are an integral part of the conquest of Canaan. The Biblical text tells us of several giants, scattered in certain locations such as Hebron, Judea, Dvir, Gaza, Gath and Ashqelon.[31] It is said that regular men are like grasshoppers in comparison, or that they are as tall as cedars.[32] They are enemies of Israel; the Amorite, the Philistines and others are also called giants, or are said to be of abnormal size.[33] Giants are mostly seen as monstrous objects of terror on one hand, and on the other, once they are defeated, they become a symbol of victory and skill for the winning side. The David and Goliath motif is indeed a strong one, which places a capable hero against a giant enemy, representing an evil force that eventually loses. When the Israelites are able to eliminate these monsters with the help of God, this becomes a symbol; the weak Israelites that originated as slaves are stronger than the mightiest warriors on earth and deserve to inherit their lands, being "larger than giants." This motif is universal and found in many myths, and has been developed in folklore in many different ways.[34]

The story in Gen 6:1–4 may provide an answer to the origin of giants in Biblical literature, but it still leaves the reader baffled about the nature of these

30 See Doak, *Last of the Rephaim*, 70.

31 See Num 13:22; Josh 11:21, 22; 14:15; 15:13–14; Jud 1:20.

32 See Num 13:33; Am 2:9.

33 See Num 13:28; Deut 1:28; 2:21; 9:2; Josh 11:22; 14:12; 2 Sam 21:15–22; Am 2:9.

34 For further reading, see Doak, *Last of the Rephaim*, 10–25; Doak, B. R., "The Giant in a Thousand Years: Tracing Narratives of Gigantism in The Hebrew Bible and Beyond," in Goff, M., Stuckenbruck, L. T. and Morano, E. (eds.), *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 13–32; Huggins, R. V., "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114 (1995), pp. 103–110; Newington, S., "Greek Titans and Biblical Giants" in Goff, M., Stuckenbruck, L. T. and Morano, E. (eds.), *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 33–40; Stuckenbruck, L. T., "The 'Angels' and 'Giants' of Genesis 6:1–4 in Second and Third Century BCE Jewish Interpretation: Reflections on the Posture of Early Apocalyptic Traditions," *Dead Sea Discoveries* 7 (2000), pp. 354–377; Tuval, M., "'Συναγωγὴ γιγάντων' (Prov 21:16): The Giants in the Jewish Literature in Greek," in Goff, M., Stuckenbruck, L. T. and Morano, E. (eds.), *Ancient Tales of Giants from Qumran and Turfan: Contexts, Traditions, and Influences* (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2016), pp. 41–60.

giants. We expect to find intriguing stories of famous demigod heroes, such as Heracles, Theseus, *Dān'ilu* or Gilgamesh, and instead, find that these are the "bad guys" of the story, who are quickly wiped out before the time of the kingdom of Solomon.

The problem that is most relevant to this discussion is the link that Biblical scribes make between the Rephaim and giants in several texts.[35] So far, we have seen that the Rephaim in Ugaritic texts are praiseworthy and beloved heroes, kings, judges and divine mortals, but they are never depicted as giants. The living kings that were considered to be Rephaim were known to the common people, and not once does the text refer to their size. Even though we do not have the origin story of the Rephaim in Ugaritic myth, Gen 6:1–4 seems to be the closest version of that story, especially considering the artificial connection that is made between the Rephaim and giants/Nephilim. The demigod Rephaim must have been created as a result of a divine coupling, but monotheistic approaches could not tolerate the idea of righteous demigods, and so the two myths were conveniently mingled, and the origin story of the Rephaim and giants became one and the same.

The demigod heroes of the Israelite belief system could not simply be erased from people's minds, but they could be altered and depicted as objects of terror, as part of the new doctrine that was meant to eliminate any fragment of reverence for the Rephaim. This combination of Rephaim/giants had probably taken place at a very early stage, considering the Septuagint translation, dated to the 3rd century BCE, where Nephilim and Rephaim were already identified as "giants" or "titans."[36] The process was probably very natural, taking the strong heroes, the Rephaim, who were already known for their strength and divine origin, and demonizing them as giants, while still being strong warriors with divine origin. This deliberate attempt was made so that it would appear to the reader that all Rephaim were giants and vice versa, and it succeeded quite well.

The rejection of the divinity of mortals is also expressed in other ways. In Isa 14:23 we find the strong prophecy against *Hēlel bęn Šāḥar*, who sees himself as godlike, and will be punished for it (§4.5.1.1). In Ezek 28:1–10 the prophet speaks against the King of Tyre, who also believes that he is divine (§4.5.2).[37] It is not surprising to find the Rephaim in both sources, where both prophets

35 Deut 2:11; 3:11; 2 Sam 21:15–22; 1 Chr 20, in the context of Goliath in 1 Sam 17:4, discussed below (§4.4.2.2).

36 Cf Doak, *Last of the Rephaim*, 56–57.

37 Cf also Ezek 29:3, 9.

compare them to the foreign kings.[38] Accordingly, no king of the people of Israel sees himself as divine or of divine origin, nor are they condemned for such behavior by prophets. The king is responsible for providing the best means of worshipping God for the people, but he himself is not worshipped, neither in life nor in death. There are several sources,[39] where the king is addressed as a son of God, but these are all clearly allegories, exalting the king above all others, and not as in the Story of *Kirta* (KTU 1.16, I, 9–11 and 17–23), where the king is referred to as a god, a son of *'Ilu*, and a member of his family.[40] The deification of characters such as Enoch, Moses and Elijah can be attested to in later Jewish traditions during the Second Temple Period, but even then, they are portrayed as agents of God, who had to leave their mortal existence in order to achieve this position, and not as individual deities.[41] The boundary between the divine and the human is also attested to by the emphasis placed on the humbleness of man, who cannot comprehend the work God; he is nothing more than dust and ashes, a being who lives a short time with minimal importance who will soon be forgotten.[42] The Rephaim had no place in such a religion, and it is not surprising to find that God had taken upon himself to completely annihilate them and their memory (Isa 26:14). As I discuss in this chapter, the attitude towards the Biblical Rephaim is the exact opposite than that of the Ugaritic and Phoenician traditions, in life and in death.

The data regarding the Rephaim in Biblical literature is spread over more than ten books, and so it has been divided here into several parts for purposes of simplification.[43] The first part of this section deals with the two traditions of the "living Rephaim" in the chronicles of the Israelite people from the time of Abraham to the time of David. The second part deals with the depiction of

38 Cf also Isa 31:3, and the prophecy over Egypt.

39 Such as 2 Sam 7:14; Ps 2:7 or Ps 89:27–28.

40 For more on the rejection of the concept of deified kings and men, see Frankfort, H., *Kingship and the Gods: A Study of Ancient Near Eastern Religion as the Integration of Society and Nature* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 342–344; י' קויפמן, תולדות האמונה הישראלית. הדפסה רביעית (ירושלים/תל אביב: ביאליק ודביר, 1960), pp. 456–457.

41 For more on the deification of these characters, see Houtman, C., "Elijah," in *DDD*, pp. 282–285 (284); Litwa, M. D., "The Deification of Moses in Philo of Alexandria," *The Studia Philonica Annual* 26 (2014), pp. 1–27; Orlov, A. A., *The Enoch-Metatron Tradition* (Tübington: Mohr Siebeck, 2005).

42 Cf examples in Gen 3:19; Isa 40:6–8; Job 38; 42:1–6; Ecc 1:11; 3:20, and more.

43 I mostly use English translations of the Jewish Publication Society Bible (JPS) and The New International Version (NIV), but in some specific cases I have translated or transliterated the text. For example, the places where the word "Rephaim" appear are left untranslated, and I do not follow the translations which might create misconceptions (such as "shades of the dead").

"dead Rephaim" in different texts. The third part deals with two special cases in the study of the Rephaim.

4.4 Two Main Traditions of Living Rephaim in the Chronicles of Israel

When reviewing the Biblical data which involves the living Rephaim from the first time they appear in Gen 14, to the last in 2 Sam 21/1 Chr 20, it seems that some contradictions can only be settled by separating the data into two traditions: the first tradition addresses the Rephaim in the time of Abraham (Gen 14:5) and Moses, in geographic areas such as the *Bāšān*, *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏrēʿî*, Moab, Ammon and other parts of the Transjordan, who are all killed leaving not one behind (Deut 2:11,20; 3:11,13). The Transjordanian Rephaim tradition ends in the Book of Joshua (Josh 12:4; 13:12) and the geographic area that is especially associated with them is usually called the "Land of Rephaim" (אֶרֶץ רְפָאִים). According to this tradition, the reader is promised that all Rephaim have been destroyed except king *ʿOg*, and the impression that is received is that once he is killed, the Rephaim are gone from the face of the earth.

The second tradition addresses the Rephaim within the Israel borders (Gen 15:20; Josh 15:8; 17:15, 18:16; 2 Sam 5:18,22; 23:13; 1 Chr 11:15; 14:9), who also have a geographical area associated with them, called the "Valley of Rephaim" (עֵמֶק רְפָאִים). This tradition is mostly connected to the wars with the Philistines in the time of King David, and the battle against the Rephaim in 2 Sam 21:15–22 and 1 Chr 20, which is connected to the story of David and Goliath in 1 Sam 17. The contradiction between the promise that *ʿOg* was the last of the Rephaim, and their sudden appearance in the context of the Philistines, is elegantly solved by the editor of the Book of Joshua, who includes both traditions in his work: "*No Giants remained in the land of the Israelites; but some remained in Azza, Gath, and Ashdod*" (Josh 11:22). This later editor, who probably takes the association of Rephaim and giants for granted, and knows of the stories of the Philistine Rephaim in the time of David, tells the reader that the Rephaim/giants were indeed destroyed with giant King *ʿOg*, but that some *did* somehow survive and now live in Philistine settlements.[44] However, it *was* said that *ʿOg* is the last of the Rephaim, not the last of the *giants*, so the contradiction between traditions remains.

Both traditions of the Rephaim depict them in a similar fashion: they are giants or deformed, evil, enemies of Israel and God, they were fought against

44 For more on the time and editing of the Book of Joshua, see י׳ קויפמן, ספר יהושע, ירושלים, 1976, pp. 1–80.

in the time of great leaders, and they were the finest warriors of their people, as R. S. Hendel says: "The function of the Nephilim-Rephaim in all of these traditions is constant – they exist in order to be wiped out: by the flood, by Moses, by David, and others. The function of the Nephilim in Israelite tradition, I submit, is to die."[45] The affiliation of Biblical Rephaim with different groups of people, in different geographic areas is similar to the Rephaim in Ugaritic and Phoenician sources, who are also depicted as warriors, kings of divine origin, and may be found in different places and with different people. This demonstrates that "Rephaim" is an epithet, a social concept of mortal strength, representing divine heroes, and not a general ethnic name of a tribe or people.

4.4.1 *First Tradition: The Rephaim of the Transjordan*

4.4.1.1 Genesis 14:5

We first encounter the Rephaim called by name in the early days of Abraham, in the puzzling chapter 14 in the book of Genesis. The chapter is composed of three main parts: 1) a military campaign which is conducted by an alliance of four Eastern kings against an alliance of five Western kings, and the rebellion of these kings against the rule of *Kᵉdārlāʿomęr* (1–9); 2) Abraham saves Lot in an act of heroism (10–16); 3) Abraham's meeting with the Kings of Sodom and *Šhālēm* (17–24). Most scholars agree that the chapter derives from a different source or sources than the other material of the Pentateuch, and attempts to link it to sources such as J, P and D are usually rejected.[46] The first part bears a certain resemblance to Babylonian and Assyrian annalistic narratives of military campaigns and alliances. This has led to continuing attempts to determine its historical accuracy, even though this war has no other documentation in ancient Near Eastern sources.[47] The question of the formation of the chapter

45 See Hendel, R. S., "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 13–26 (21).

46 Cf the discussion in Astour, M. C., "Political and Cosmic Symbolism in Genesis 14 and in its Babylonian Sources," in A. Altmann (ed.), *Biblical Motifs, Origins and Transformations* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966), pp. 65–112; Emerton, J. A., "The Riddle of Genesis XIV," *VT* 21 (1971), pp. 403–439 (404); Wenham, G. J., *Genesis 1–15*. WBC 1 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1987), p. 306.

47 For more on this topic, see Alter, R., *Genesis: Translation and Commentary* (New-York/London: W. W. Norton & Company, 1997), p. 58; Emerton, "Riddle of Genesis."; Finkelstein, I. and Römer, T., "Comments on the Historical Background of the Abraham Narrative: Between 'Realia' and 'Exegetica'," *Hebrew Bible and Ancient Israel* 3 (2014), pp. 3–23; Soggin, J. A., "Abraham and the Eastern Kings: On Genesis 14," in Zevit, Z., Gitin, S. and Sokoloff, M. (eds.), *Solving Riddles and Untying Knots. Biblical Epigraphic, and Semitic Studies in Honor of Jonas C. Greenfield* (Winona Lake, IN: Eisenbrauns, 1995), pp. 283–291; Speiser, E. A., *Genesis*. The Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1964),

and the antiquity of its parts is an issue which will not be included here.[48] The discussion is limited to verse 5, in which the Rephaim are mentioned:

> *In the fourteenth year K^e^dar̲lāʿomęr and the kings who were with him came and defeated the Rephaim at ʿAšt^e^rōt Qarnayîm, the Zûzîm at Hām, the ʾÊmîm at Šāwēh Qīryātāyîm*

The campaign of the Eastern kings is usually seen as the basis of the chapter, and some date its writing to circa 8–7th centuries BCE.[49] This material is used to describe Abraham as an active hero, and also his belief system in his discussion with *Malkîṣędęq* (18–24), which identifies and fuses Yahweh with *ʾĒl ʿlyôn*, head of the Canaanite pantheon (and also Ugaritic and other places).[50] The Rephaim play only a passive part in this story, as they are attacked and defeated by the Eastern alliance of kings, while heading south on the "King's Highway" (Num 20:17) from the northern part of the Transjordan, the *Bāšān*, through Ammonite, Moabite and Edomite settlements, until they reach the Dead Sea.[51] The Eastern kings strike down every people they encounter in their path, and the Rephaim are no exception.

ʿAšt^e^rōt Qarnayîm is usually identified with *ʿAštārōt*, a city in the *Bāšān* which is associated with the Rephaim elsewhere in Biblical literature (Deut 12:4; 13:2, see fig 5.).[52] *Zûzîm* or *Zamzūmîm* may be identified with the Rephaim by

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p. 101; Westermann, C., *Genesis 12–36: A Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1985), pp. 187–189.

48 For a recent analysis, see Berner, C., "Abraham amidst Kings, Coalitions and Military Campaigns: Reflections on the Redaction History of Gen 14 and its Early Rewritings," in Berner C. and Samuel H. (eds.) *The Reception of Biblical War Legislation in Narrative Contexts* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2015), pp. 23–60.

49 See Finkelstein and Römer, "Abraham Narrative," 15–17.

50 Cf Emerton, "Riddle of Genesis," 427–438; For more on Yahweh and *ʾĒl ʿlyôn* in this chapter see Dussaud, R., "Yahwé, fils de El," *Syria* 34 (1957), pp. 232–242; Eissfeldt, O., "El and Jahweh," *JSS* 1 (1956), pp. 25–37; Levi Della Vida, G., "El 'Elyon in Genesis 14:18–20," *JBL* 63 (1944), pp. 1–9.

51 Hamilton finds a resemblance between the route the Eastern alliance took in Gen 14 and the Israelites, who walked in the opposite direction before entering Canaan. See Hamilton, V. P., *The Book of Genesis: Chapters 1–17* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1990), p. 402. Summer shows that this is not exactly the case, and there are differences between the two routes. See Summer, W. A., "Israel's Encounters with Edom, Moab, Ammon, Sihon, and Og According to the Deuteronomist," *VT* 18 (1968), pp. 216–228 (217).

52 According to Mazar the name *Qarnayîm* refers to Assyrian *Qarnīni*, the name of the administrative district of the area. See Mazar, B., "*Aštārōt Qarnayîm*", in EB vol 6 (1962), p. 406.

Deut 2:20. They are the original inhabitants of Ammon. The name *Zamzūmîm* sounds onomatopoeic to some, and its etymology is sometimes explained by Arabic *zamzama* as a "buzzing sound," "murmur," "whisper."[53] According to Deut 2:20, the name was given to them by the Ammonite people, so it is possible that it has a Semitic origin. There is a certain difference between reading *Zûzîm* and *Zamzūmîm*, and we cannot tell which, if any, is the correct pronunciation.[54] The location of *Hām*, which is probably found in Ammon, has not yet been identified. The name *'Êmîm* is the name that the Moabite people called the Rephaim according to Deut 2:11. Medieval Jewish commentators and many modern interpretations suggest that the name derives from the root '-Y-M ("terrible," "dreadful," "awesome"), in reference to their size. According to O. Bustenai, the location of *Šāwēh Qīryātāyîm* is in the Southern part of the Gilead.[55] The word *Šāwēh* also appears in Gen 14:17, in the context of the "Valley of the King," and so it is difficult to say if the name refers to a settlement or an open field between settlements.

Besides learning that Rephaim dwelt in the *Bāšān* area in the time of Abraham, this verse does not provide much information. It does not indicate that they were giants, like the *Zamzūmîm* and *'Êmîm* (Deut 2:11, 20), although it is clear that Gen 14:5 and Deut 2:11, 20 do lean on a similar tradition, and the Septuagint translates the word accordingly (*γίγαντας*, "giants"). It is said that the alliance of the Eastern kings defeated them without any difficulty. The only function of the Rephaim, *Zûzîm* and *'Êmîm* in chapter 14 is to glorify the image of the warrior Abraham; the Eastern kings were stronger than Rephaim (giants) and the Canaanite kings too, but Abraham, like Moses and David, is even stronger than Rephaim.

4.4.1.2 Deuteronomy 2:10–11, 20–21

The first chapters of Deuteronomy provide a historical summary and several anecdotes at the end of the Israelites long journey to Canaan. The text provides some information about the people in the Transjordan area, their ethnic relation to the Israelites, and God's decision regarding their fate and the fate of

53 See Karge, P., *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1917), p. 627; Lundbom, J. R., *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2013), p. 202; Rabin, Ch., "Og," *Erez Israel* 8 (1968), pp. 251–254 (253).

54 The Targum sees the two as different words and translates *Zûzîm* as תקיפיא, and *Zamzūmîm* as חשבני.

55 See See Bustenai, O., "Šāwēh Qīryātāyîm," in EB vol 7 (1976), p. 532.

their territory.[56] The first mention of the Rephaim is linked to the fate of the people of Moab and Ammon. God determines that there will be no war against these kingdoms, and that their lands are intended for the descendants of Lot (2:9, 19). The Rephaim serve as a historical anecdote about Moab and Ammon:

> 10. *It was formerly inhabited by the ʾÊmîm, a people great and numerous, and as tall as the Giants.* 11. *Like the Giants, they are counted as Rephaim; but the Moabites call them ʾÊmîm …* 20. *It* (the Ammonite land)*, too, is counted as Rephaim country. It was formerly inhabited by Rephaim, whom the Ammonites call Zamzūmîm.* 21. *A people great and numerous and as tall as the Giants. God wiped them out, so that they dispossessed them and settled in their place.*

As in Gen 14:5, we see that the *ʾÊmîm* and *Zamzūmîm* originally inhabited the territory of Moab and Ammon. In verse 21, it is suggested that God's plan was to destroy the *Zamzūmîm* in order to provide a land for Lot's offspring. Gen 14:5 provides the historical background for this story; Lot is saved by Abraham, and in Gen 19 his children are born when the land is free of the *ʾÊmîm* and *Zamzūmîm* after the campaign of the Eastern alliance of kings on their way to Canaan. For the first time we see that the text depicts the Rephaim as giants, and that the *ʾÊmîm* and *Zamzūmîm* were actually the Moabite and Ammonite name for the Rephaim. This information lets us see the Rephaim through the eyes of the Deuteronomist historian, as he takes the name "Rephaim" as the known form in Hebrew, and uses it to define the other foreign names. The line: "*Like the Giants, they* (*ʾÊmîm*) *are counted as Rephaim*," reveals that giants, *ʾÊmîm* and *Zamzūmîm* are all categorized as Rephaim, and this creates a broad categorization of the term in the mind of the reader, as if all the terms should be seen as one.[57] In Gen 14:5 it is stated that Rephaim, *Zûzîm and ʾÊmîm* are different people from different areas, yet only the Deuteronomist puts them all in the same basket. The Deuteronomist also says that the Israelite witnessed giants inside Canaan (Deut 1:28), and later it is suggested that the people in Canaan are actually descendants of giants (9:1–2), yet the Rephaim are only

56 Some see these explanatory notes ass later additions. See Craigie, P. C., *The Book of Deuteronomy*, 2nd Edition (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1976), p. 100; Christensen, D. L., *Deuteronomy 1–11*. WBC 6a (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Inc, 1991), p. 41.

57 Doak suggests that the equation giants = Rephaim = *ʾÊmîm* = *Zamzūmîm* is an innovation of the Deuteronomist and it is not clear if it was accepted by other sources. See Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012), p. 89.

affiliated with the Tranjordan area.[58] This leads to the impression that almost everyone who has been defeated by the Israelites is somehow the offspring of a giant, and the Rephaim are also fused into this concept. The annihilation of them in this text is not explained by their actions, but by the need to clear the area for other important people.[59] It was God's decision, as seen in Isa 26:14 (§4.5.1.3), where it is stated that God intentionally destroyed all of the Rephaim, and wiped out their memory.

What is the relation between this chapter and Gen 14:5? It could be argued that the scribe or editor of Deut 2:10–11, 20–21 used the prior information in Gen 14 from the time of Abraham for his own needs, yet the fact that the text identifies the *ʾÊmîm* and *Zamzūmîm* as Rephaim and the difference between the reading of *Zûzîm*/*Zamzūmîm* suggests that both texts are rooted in an earlier and distinct tradition.[60] The convention of identifying the Rephaim as giants is probably not the work of the Deuteronomist, but has been altered to fit his needs and extended to cover other people and locations.

4.4.1.3 Deuteronomy 3:11

ʿOg, king of the *Bāšān*, is the most famous of Biblical Rephaim. As discussed above regarding KTU 1.108, 2–3 (§2.7), and the case of "Phoenician *ʿOg*" (§3.5.3), some studies use the mention of *ʿOg*, his connection to the Rephaim and the anecdote of his bed size in this verse, and attempt to create a broad myth, linked to Ugaritic, Phoenician and Aegean myths.[61] There is no real evidence to support such broad influence by *ʿOg* outside of Biblical sources and later Jewish traditions, neither from the Phoenician fragment from Byblos nor from other sources. The exceptional size of *ʿOg* is *not* exceptional in Biblical literature, and this feature is given to him, as well as to other enemies of Israel, by Israelite scribes.[62]

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58 See also Am 2:9: "… *I Destroyed the Amorite before them, whose stature was like the cedars and who was stout as the oak* …"

59 The Horite people also suffered from the same fate, as God cleared their lands for the Sons of Esau (Deut 2:22).

60 Cf Emerton, "Riddle of Genesis," 405; Westermann, *Genesis 12–36*, 196.

61 See Azize, J., "The 'Byblos 13' Inscription, 'King Og' and 'Athena Ogga,'" *Folia Orientalia* 40 (2004), pp. 215–232; del Olmo Lete, G., "Bašan o El 'Infierno' Cananeo," *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 51–60; Noegel, S. B., "The Aegean Ogygos of Boeotia and the Biblical Og of Bashan: Reflections of the Same Myth," *ZAW* 110 (1998), pp. 411–426; Röllig, W., "Eine Neue Phoenizische Inschrift aus Byblos," *Neue Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik* 2 (1974), pp. 1–15; Wyatt, N., *The Archaeology of Myth: Papers on Old Testament Tradition* (London: Routledge, 2010), p. 50.

62 Quick has summarized the process by which the myth of *ʿOg* spread beyond the Biblical scope. See Quick, L., "Laying Og to Rest: Deuteronomy 3 and the Making of a Myth," *Biblica* 98 (2017), pp. 161–172.

We first encounter *ʿOg* in Num 21:21–35, after the Israelites are rejected by *Siḥōn*, King of the Amorite, when they ask to pass through his land. The Israelite people win the battles against *Siḥōn* and settle in the Amorite cities. When they turn to the *Bāšān*, King *ʿOg* approaches them with his people at *ʾEḏrēʿî*. Through the strength of God, the Israelites strike down *ʿOg*, his sons and his people, and take his lands. There is no mention of Rephaim or giants in these stories, only tales of great battles and conquests. The traditions of *ʿOg* and *Siḥōn* probably existed separately, but at a later point they were fused together into the "two Amorite kings" that were defeated by the Israelites.[63] The Deuteronomist is the first to connect the Rephaim with *ʿOg* (Deut 3:11):

> *Only King ʿOg of the Bāšān was left of the remaining Rephaim. His bedstead, an iron bedstead, is now in Rabbah of the Ammonites; it is nine cubits long and four cubits wide, by a standard cubit.*

The etymology for the name *ʿOg* is unclear, and so is the historical accuracy of the battle between the Israelites and the kingdom of the *Bāšān*.[64] Yet the strong influence of the royal character of *ʿOg* over Biblical scribes suggests that the existence of such a king in the same area is rooted in history. It is said that *ʿOg* is the only one who survived of the remaining Rephaim, and this probably refers to the war mentioned in Gen 14:5, in which most of the Rephaim were destroyed by the Eastern alliance of kings, and their living remains were later destroyed by Moses and the Israelites. Num 21:35 says that *ʿOg* had sons and people. But were they not Rephaim too?[65] Num 21:35 leaves little room to doubt the fate of *ʿOg*, but does not answer this question. The main purpose of the text, it seems, is to highlight the fact that the Rephaim are now all gone.[66]

ʿOg's iron bed has been the subject of controversy for two reasons. The first focuses on the Hebrew word עֶרֶשׂ ("bed"). Although some argue that the text should be understood literally as "a bed," others claim that the context of the death of *ʿOg*, along with the metaphor of a bed as a final "resting place," might indicate that the bed should be interpreted as a basalt sarcophagus or

63 Cf Deut 1:4; 29:6; Josh 2:10; 9:10; Ps 135:11. Cf also Bartlett, J. R., "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites," *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 257–277 (272–273).

64 Rabin links it with Hebrew עגה ("foreign tongue") and לשון עלגים ("mumbling"). See Rabin, "Og."

65 There are several Biblical stories in which the king is the last one to fall of his people. Cf 1 Sam 15:8; 2 Kgs 25:6–7.

66 For the question of the dependence of Num 21:33–35 and Deut 3:1–3, see van Seters, J., "The Conquest of Sihon's Kingdom: A Literary Examination," *JBL* 91 (1972), pp. 182–197 (197).

a monument. All sides have very compelling arguments.[67] In any case, most scholars agree that whatever the object may be, its proportions reflect the size of its owner.[68] The second controversy centers on the location of the iron bed in Rabbah, in the Ammonite kingdom. Although Deut 2:10–11 and 20–21 indicate that all of the original inhabitants in the Transjordan area from the *Bāšān* to Moab were Rephaim, there is no indication that *ʿOg* was the ruler of the Ammonite people, or any reason that he should be buried there. The medieval Jewish commentator Rabbi Samuel ben Meir (Rashbam), who relies on legendary traditions in which *ʿOg* is much larger than the size of his bed, says that Rabbah was *ʿOg*'s birth place, and the "bed" is actually an iron crib, meant for an oversized baby. Rabin explains that *ʿOg* might be a general name for a king, like "pharaoh," and that at least two kings with that name existed, one in the time of Moses, and another, the owner of the iron bed in Rabbah.[69] Because of a lack of evidence, this question remains unanswered.[70] In any case, the tradition of *ʿOg* as the last of the Rephaim separates the Transjordan Rephaim from the Rephaim west of the Jordan, and it seems that the Deuteronomist's association of the King with the Rephaim relies mainly on his origin in the *Bāšān*, the Land of the Rephaim, that existed before the time of Abraham (Gen 14:5).

4.4.1.4 The Land of the Rephaim

The textual evidence in Deut 3:13; Josh 12:4–5 and 13:11–12 provides a general idea of the geographical area of the "Land of the Rephaim" and the settlements within its borders:[71]

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67 For the interpretation of a "bed," see Lindquist, M., "King Og's Iron Bed," *CBQ* 73 (2011), pp. 477–492; Lundbom, J. R., *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2013), p. 215; Millard, A. R., "King Og's Iron Bed: Fact or Fancy?" *Bible Review* 6 (1990) pp. 16–21; Nelson, R. D., *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), p. 52; For the interpretation of a "sarcophagus," see Christensen, *Deuteronomy 1–11*, 55; Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 120; Karge, *Rephaim*, 638–639; Mayes, A. D. H., *Deuteronomy*. New Century Bible (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1979), p. 144; For the interpretation of a "monument," see Veijola, T., "King Og's Iron Bed (Deut 3:11): Once Again," in Flint, P. W. et al. (eds.), *Studies in the Hebrew Bible, Qumran, and the Septuagint Presented to Eugene Ulrich*. VTSup 101 (Leiden: Brill, 2003), pp. 60–76.

68 About 4.1x1.8 meters, according to Craigie, *Deuteronomy*, 120.

69 See Rabin, "Og," 251.

70 Mayes suggests this text might rely on a different tradition than the one which places the king in *ʾAštārōt* and *ʾEḏrēʿî*. But this explanatory anecdote probably relies on the same tradition of Gen 14:5, in which the Rephaim are affiliated with *ʾAštārōt*. See Mayes, *Deuteronomy*, 144.

71 Another example, in Isa 26:19, is discussed below as an allegory (§4.5.1.3).

> Deut 3:13: *The rest of Gilʿād, and all of Bāšān, kingdom of ʿOg, I gave to half of the tribe of Mᵉnašē. The whole Argob district, all that part of Bāšān which is called the Land of the Rephaim.*
>
> Josh 12:4–5. *Also the territory of King ʿOg of Bāšān, of the remaining Rephaim, who resided in ʿAštārōt and in ʾEḏreʿî* 5. *And rules over Mount Ḥermōn and Salkāh, and all of the Bāšān up to the border of the Gᵉšûrî and the Maʿakatî, as also half of Gilʿād, the border of King Siḥōn of Ḥešbōn.*
>
> Josh 13:11–12. *And the Gilʿād, and the border of the Gᵉšûrî and the Maʿakatî, and all of Mount Ḥermōn, and the whole Bāšān up to Salkāh.* 12. *The entire kingdom of ʿOg of the Bāšān, who had reigned at ʿAštārōt and at ʾEḏreʿî. He was the last of the remaining Rephaim, which were defeated and dispossessed by Moses.*

According to Gen 14:5, the Rephaim were located in *ʿAštᵉrōt Qarnayîm*, in the northern part of the Transjordan area long before *ʿOg*'s rule. Num 32:33–42 says that the kingdoms of *ʿOg* and *Siḥōn* were divided between the Transjordan tribes of Israel, *Gād*, *Reʾûbēn* and half of the tribe of *Mᵉnašē*. *Mᵉnašē*, as the northern most tribe of the three, settled in the *Bāšān* area (Deut 3:13). According to 1 Chr 5:11 and 23, the tribe of *Gād* also dwelled in the *Bāšān* with the tribe of *Mᵉnašē*, up to *Salkāh*. It seems that the borders of the *Bāšān* area are, roughly, the *Yarmuk* River in the south, the Jordan River in the west, Mount *Ḥermōn* in the north, and *Salkāh* in the east (see fig 5.).[72] This land is famous for its wonderful oaks, plants and cattle, and used in the words of the prophets as an allegory on more than one occasion.[73] The "Land of the Rephaim" probably stretched even further south, to the territory of the Ammonites, as demonstrated in Deut 2:17–20.

The tradition of connecting the Rephaim with the *Bāšān*, specifically with *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾEḏreʿî*, is not an Israelite innovation. Biblical scribes had a general concept of identifying the Land of the Rephaim in its proper location, but by that time, the consolidation of the Rephaim and giants was already established, and so *ʿOg*, a king who could have been seen as a *Rpʾu* in his time, like

72 For various opinions of the borders of the *Bāšān*, see Yeivin, Sh., "*Bāšān*," in EB vol 2 (1954), pp. 366–370; Niehr also provides some information regarding the history of the region. See Niehr, H., "Die rapiʾūma/rephāʾîm als konstitutives Element der westsemitischen Königsideologie. Herkunft – Rezeptionsgeschichte – Ende," in Jonker, L., Kotzé, G. and Maier, C. M. (eds.), Congress Volume Stellenbosch 2016. VTSup 177 (Leiden: Brill, 2016), pp. 143–178 (144–149).

73 See Am 4:1; Isa 2:13; Jer 50:18; Ezek 27:6; 39:18; Zech 11:2 and more.

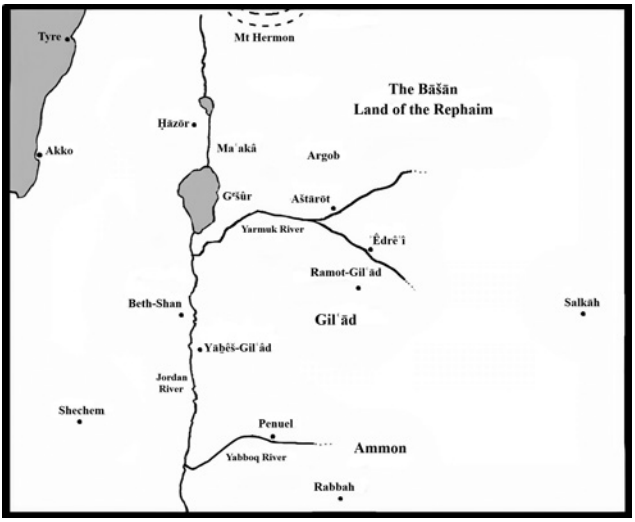

FIGURE 5 The Land of the Rephaim

Kirta, *Niqmaddu*, *Eshmunazar* and so on, became a part of the Biblical giant myth and lost his initial identity as one of the Rephaim, the heroes of men. It is suggested from the Transjordan Rephaim that Biblical texts preserve the tradition of the geographic area of the *Bāšān* as the original land of Rephaim. Fortunately, KTU 1.108, 2–3 (§2.7) provides us with another important piece of the puzzle:

ʾil . yṯb . bʿṯtrt	*ʾIlu* sits in *ʿAštārōt*
[ʾi]l *tpẓ . bhdrʿy*	*ʾIlu* rules in *ʾĘdrę̂ʿî*

The "Land of the Rephaim" appears as the dwelling place of the main Ugaritic deity (also Canaanite, etc.), *ʾIlu*, represented by the cities *ʿAštārōt* and *ʾĘdrę̂ʿî* as in Biblical texts. This also fits with the early Biblical tradition, found in Ps 68:16–17, 23, which mentions that Mount *Bāšān* was the Mountain of God prior to Mount Zion at a certain point. Since the myth of the Rephaim is based on a divine lineage, deriving from the main deity, it is reasonable to see the Land of the Rephaim as the place from which they originated. In KTU 1.108, 2–3 this is emphasized when a new king, a *Rpʾu*, is enthroned, and is linked to the myth of old where his divine roots began, in the *Bāšān*. This is also the case with KTU 1.161, when the ruling king ties himself to a long lineage of Rephaim, starting with *Ditānu*, probably one of the oldest known Rephaim ancestors. The Biblical Land of the Rephaim does not belong to a certain ethnic group or tribe as other nations. Furthermore, we find Rephaim scattered in other

geographic places, not as a diaspora, but as the most important people of the societies they belong to. The Land of the Rephaim is probably their birthplace in myth and also where this concept originated and was established later on in different societies and settlements in the Levant. And so, from the standpoint of the Israelites, every king or hero who lives in this area must be affiliated with the Rephaim.

4.4.2 *Second Tradition: The Rephaim West of the Jordan*

4.4.2.1 Genesis 15:20 and Joshua 17:15

In Gen 15, God speaks with Abraham in a vision, and promises him many descendants. During a ceremony of covenant between the two (9–21), God reveals the future of Abraham's progeny; the slavery in Egypt, the return to Canaan and the borders of the Promised Land:

> 18. *On that day God made a covenant with Abram, saying, "To your offspring I assign this land, from the river of Egypt to the great river, the river P^{e}rāt* 19. *The Kenites, and the Kenizzites, and the Kadmonites* 20. *And the Hittites, and the Perizzites and the Rephaim* 21. *And the Amorites, And the Canaanites, and the Girgashites, and the Jebusites*."

The list of people in verses 19–21 mostly represent ethnic groups, except for the Rephaim. This can be seen by the pl. /*m*/ in the writing of their name, while all other groups are represented by a collective noun (קיני, קנזי, קדמני and so on). The list is composed of ten names, the longest of all ethnic lists of people who dwelt in the Promised Land before the Israelites.[74] The description of the geographic area, between the Nile and Euphrates, covers a large area, which includes the Transjordan area. This explains the appearance of the Rephaim in this list, as the tribes of *Gād* and *M^{e}našē* eventually settled in the *Bāšān*, the Land of the Rephaim.[75] But when we turn to Josh 17:15, a problem emerges when Joshua answers the complaint of the descendants of Joseph, who wish for a larger territory:

> *And Joshua answered them*: "*If you are a numerous people, go up to the forest country and clear an area for yourselves there, in the territory of the Perizzites and the Rephaim, seeing that you are cramped in the hill country of Ephraim*"

74 See other versions of lists in Ex 3:8; Deut 7:1; Josh 3:10; Neh 9:8.

75 See Num 32:33–42; 1 Chr 5:11, 23.

The *Perizzites* people are an integral part of the people who dwelled in Canaan, but it is difficult to pinpoint their exact location.[76] The Israelites did not manage to eliminate all of them, and they are mentioned as workers of King Solomon along with the remains of other Canaanite people.[77] Strangely, the Rephaim are coupled with the *Perizzites* in this text, which can be explained in two ways: 1) the Rephaim in Josh 17:15 and possibly Gen 15:20 should be understood as the "giants" who inhabit the Canaanite area west of the Jordan, that were killed by the Israelites. In this tradition, the Perizzites and the Rephaim share the same estate or two that are nearby; 2) the second explanation is that the Rephaim in Gen 15:20 are those of Transjordan. A later hand in the Book of Joshua, influenced by Gen 15:20, kept the phrase "*the Perizzites and the Rephaim*" fused together. This second option seems more likely. Josh 12:4–5 and 13:11–12 recognize the territory of the Rephaim as in the *Bāšān*. Josh 15:8 and 18:16 recognizes the "Valley of Rephaim," south of Jerusalem. These geographic areas represent both traditions of the living Rephaim in Biblical sources. Could it be that Joshua 17 knows of a third geographic area which they inhabit, near the *Perizzites*? It is more likely that this is an oversight rather than another "Land of Rephaim" within the Canaanite region.

4.4.2.2 2 Samuel 21:15–22 and 1 Chronicles 20:4–8

As well as Moses, King David also dealt with Rephaim in his time. In the final chapters of the Books of Samuel we encounter some stories of heroes that served David and fought alongside him. In one of these texts, which is also partially attested to in 1 Chronicles 20:4–8, four heroes kill four members of the Philistine Rephaim in different incidents.[78] The next table is a comparison of the two texts.

2 Sam 21:15–17: In the exposition of the unit, another war breaks out between the Philistines and Israel and David and his men go to battle. Verse 15 ends with an important fact; David is older, and no longer the young and brave warrior. *Yišbî-bᵉNob* – According to syntax, this is the name of the first Philistine of the four who fought against David's men, but the difference between the *Qere* (ישבי) and *Ketib* (ישבו) version of *Yišbî* might indicate some corruption of the

76 Cf Ahituv, S., "Perizzi," in EB vol 6 (1962), p. 582. Cf Gen 13:7; 34:30; Jud 1:4–5.

77 See 1 Kgs 9:20; 2 Chr 8:7.

78 Tsumura believes these are single combats of warriors who represent their troops, as in the story of David and Goliath (1 Sam 17:3–4). See Tsumura, D. T., *The First Book of Samuel* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2007), p. 44. For more on the type-scene of these single combats see Press, M. D., "A Single Combat Type-Scene in the Hebrew Bible?," *HS* 57 (2016), pp. 93–115.

TABLE 2 2 Sam 21:15–22 and 1 Chr 20:4–8

2 Sam 21:15–22	**1 Chr 20:4–8**
15. *Again war broke out between the Philistines and Israel, and David and the men with him went down and fought the Philistines*; *David grew weary.*	
16. *And Yišbî-b^{e}Nob tried to kill David, He was a descendant of HāRāpâ*; *his bronze spear weighed three hundred shekalim and he wore new armor.*	
17. *But Abishai son of Tzeruya came to his aid; he attacked the Philistine and killed him. It was then that David's men declared to him on oath, "You shall not go with us into battle any more, lest you extinguish the lamp of Israel."*	
18. *After this, fighting broke out again with the Philistines at Gob*; *that was when Sibbecai the Hushathite killed Saph, a descendant of HāRāpâ*	4. *After this, fighting broke out with the Philistines at Gęzęr; that was when Sibbecai the Hushathite killed Sipaî, a descendant of the Rephaim, and they were humbled.*
19. *Again there was fighting with the Philistines at Gob*; *and Elhanan son of Ya'rê 'Orgîm the Bethlehemite, killed Goliath the Gittite, whose spear had a shaft like a weaver's beam.*	5. *Again there was fighting with the Philistines, and Elhanan son of Yā'īr killed Laḥmî, the brother of Goliath the Gittite*; *his spear had a shaft like a weaver's beam.*
20. *Once again there was fighting at Gath. There was a Man of mādôn, who had six fingers on each hand and six toes on each foot, twenty-four in all; he too was descended of HāRāpâ.*	6. *Once again there was fighting at Gath. There was a man of midâ, who had twenty-four fingers, six and six*; *he too was descended of HāRāpā'.*
21. *Then he taunted Israel, Yehonatan son of Šim'â, David's brother, killed him.*	7. *Then he taunted Israel, Yehonatan son of Šim'ā', David's brother, killed him.*
22. *Those four were descended of HāRāpâ in Gath, and they fell by the hands of David and his men.*	8. *These were descendeds of HāRāpā' in Gath, and they fell by the hands of David and his men.*

text at this point.[79] *Nob* – Most read as *Gōb* according to verses 18–19, a place in the Israelite Shfela, which has recently been identified as Khirbet Qeiyafa.[80] *Descendant of* (*Yelidê*) *HāRāpâ* (הרפה) – The word *Yelidê* (ילידי) may be interpreted differently by context as "descendants," "sons" or "house-born slaves."[81] The passive use of the verb Y-L-D in verses 21–22 (יֻלַּד, יֻלְּדוּ) suggests a genealogical connection between the four Philistine warriors, hence, some early Jewish traditions see *HāRāpâ* as a whore, a mother to all four giants.[82]

Besides clear hints of the size of the Philistine warriors, the tradition that ties the Rephaim to giants (Deut 2:11) is strongly echoed here too, by the similarity of the expression *Yelidê HāRāpâ* to *Yelidê Hāʿanāq* ("Descendant of the giants," Num 13:22, 28; Josh 15:14), and the perception that the remaining giants escaped to the Philistine settlements in the time of Joshua (Josh 11:22).[83] Most see the first letter (*He*) in *HāRāp*â as a definite article (cf הרפאים in 1 Chr 20:4), although it is not omitted when expected after the preposition /l/ (להרפה, להרפא).[84] The letters *He* and *Aleph* may replace one another in Biblical Hebrew, even in personal names, and so, the last *He* in *HāRāpâ* should be read

79 Mauchline sees *Yišbî-bᵉNob* as a single name. See Mauchline, J., *1 and 2 Samuel* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1971), p. 304; McCarter translates the text as "Dodo son of Joash" by the Lucianic Manuscript of Septuagint. See McCarter, P. K., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 447–448; Segal believes that the Philistine's name was omitted from the text and reads the *Ketib* version, ישבו, as the verb "They camped," as if the warriors rested on account of the tired king. See: מ״צ סגל, ספרי שמואל (ירושלים: קרית ספר, 1971), p. 371; Garsiel mentions the Jewish Midrash as interpreting the *Ketib* version ישבו, based on Hebrew שבי (captivity), which suggests that David fell in captivity of the Philistines. Garsiel rejects this idea, and based on H. R. Smith's suggestion, restores the name to ב[א] ישבי בן. אב being *ʾob* (1 Sam 28:7), connected to the spirits of the dead. See Garsiel, M., "The Four Sons of Rephaim Who Fell in Combats with David and His Heroes," *BM* (2009), pp. 39–61 (46); Smith, H. R., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Books of Samuel* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1951), p. 378.

80 See Na'aman, N., "In Search of the Ancient Name of Khirbet Qeiyafa," *JHS* 8 (2008), pp. 1–8; Most studies address its exact location as unknown.

81 See Willesen, F., "The Philistine Corps of the Scimitar from Gath," *JSS* 3 (1958), pp. 327–335 (328) Cf Gen 14:14; 17:13; Jer 2:14.

82 *ʿŎrpâ* from Moab (Ruth 1:4,14). Some Legends also address Samson as the ancestor of these giants. See Segal, *Samuel*, 371.

83 Cf Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012), p. 111.

84 Willesen sees the letter *He* as an integral part of the word, comparing it to Greek *harpē* (ἅρπη), as a sickle or a scimitar, suggesting that the Philistines should be addressed as the "scimitar corps from Gath." See Willesen, "Philistine Corps."

as the letter *Aleph*, as indicated by 1 Chr 20:6, 8 (הרפא).[85] The description of the Philistine armor/weapon is not completely clear and has been given various interpretations.[86] The struggle ends with Abishai son of Tzeruya saving David's life, and an oath, which concludes David's fighting days, and his great importance as a symbol rather than a warrior. Verses 15–17 do not have a parallel in the Chronicles version of the story. Some believe this was done deliberately in order to avoid any negative description of the aging King David.[87]

2 Sam 21:18/1 Chr 20:4: *Gōb* – According to Chronicles, the place is *Gęzęr*, and according to the Septuagint (Codex Vaticanus), it is *Gath*. In Jud 1:29, the Canaanites inhabited *Gęzęr* after the Israelite conquests. Later on, in 2 Sam 5:25, David fights the Philistines from *Gębʿa* to *Gęzęr*, the latter being the Philistine border. In 1 Kgs 9:17 Pharaoh burns *Gęzęr*, still inhabited by Canaanites at that time, not the Philistines.[88] And so, reading *Gęzęr* might be an error, but it is difficult to determine whether *Gōb* or *Gath* is the correct reading.[89] The Chronicles version specify that *Sipaî* (Saph) was a descendant of the *Rephaim*, instead of *HāRāpâ*, leaving no room to doubt that the four were Philistines (2 Sam 20:22), but still considered to be Rephaim.

2 Sam 21:19/1 Chr 20:5: Another battle occurs. David's warrior, Elhanan son of *Yaʿrê/Yāʿīr* defeats another of the Philistine Rephaim. This verse is the source of great debate, since it specifies the Philistine's name; Goliath the Gittite, as the name of the great hero who fights David in 1 Sam 17.[90] The obvious contradiction is resolved in various ways, such as: 1) two separate traditions of killing the giant Goliath existed, one of which belonged to David and another of which to one of his heroes. Both eventually found their way to the text;[91] 2) Elhanan = David. This interpretation is found in early Jewish Midrash and Commentary,

85 See Fowler, J. D., *Theophoric Personal Names in Ancient Hebrew: A Comparative Study*, JSOT Sup 49 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1988), pp. 165–166.

86 Medieval Jewish Commentators argue about the Philistine's equipment. Some see the word *qênô* (16) as a "handle," "blade," "spear" or "Helmet." Some see the word חדשה as describing the Philistine's sword, and not his armor. See Segal, *Samuel*, 371.

87 Cf Ackroyd, P. R., *The Second Book of Samuel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977), p. 201; Segal, *Samuel*, 44.

88 See also, Japhet, S., *I & II Chronicles: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1993), p. 367.

89 For a contrasting opinion, see Garsiel, "Four Sons," 49–51.

90 For the question of the name's origin, see McCarter, *I Samuel*, 291; Vernet Pons, M., "The Etymology of Goliath in the Light of Carian PN Wljat/Wliat: A new Proposal," *Kadmos* 51 (2012), pp. 143–164.

91 See Jason, H., "The Story of David and Goliath: A Folk Epic?" *Biblica* 60 (1979), pp. 36–70 (60–61); Tsumura, *Samuel*, 441; Segal believes that the original name of the Philistine in 1 Sam 17 was unknown, addressed mostly as "the Philistine," and only later was given the name "Goliath." See Segal, *Samuel*, 134–136.

which was later explained by the fact that Elhanan is probably David's birth name, while the name "David" was given to him when he became king;[92] 3) Elhanan was the original victorious warrior, but later on his victory was attributed to King David;[93] 4) the version in the Book of Chronicles clumsily alters the written text in 2 Sam, probably in order to solve this contradiction:

2 Sam 21:19: בית הלחמי את גלית הגתי
1 Chr 20:5: א ת לחמי אחי גלית הגתי

The deliberate change of the original version manipulates the text and creates a very close written version, in which Elhanan's origin, בית הלחמי (Bethlehemite), becomes the Philistine's name, *Laḥmî*, and Hebrew את turned into אחי ("brother"). And so, Elhanan actually kills Goliath's *brother*, and not Goliath.[94] However, it is difficult to conclude that the Chronicler would try to harmonize the versions of Goliath's death in 1 and 2 Sam, since he does not mention anywhere in his composition the story of David and Goliath.[95]

Was Goliath in 1 Sam 17 also a member of the Rephaim? 2 Sam 21 and 1 Chr 20 support this possibility, but this is limited to the interpretation of Rephaim as giants, and not in their original function in the Ugaritic or Phoenician sources. The simile, ועץ חניתו כמנור ארגים ("whose spear had a shaft like a weaver's beam"), is found in both sources concerning Goliath, but also in a third source (1 Chr 11:23), which tells of another of David's heroes, Benaiah son of Yehoyada, who kills a giant Egyptian who was five cubits tall, and also had

92 Cf Garsiel, "Four Sons," 53; Honeyman, A. M., "The Evidence for Regnal Names among the Hebrews," *JBL* 67 1948), pp.13–25; von Pákozdy, L. M., "Elhånån – der Frühere Name Davids?," *ZAW* 68 (1956), pp. 257–259.

93 See Auld, A. G., *I & II Samuel: A Commentary* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2011), p. 579; McCarter, P. K., *II Samuel: A New Translation with Introduction, Notes and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1984), pp. 450–451; Stoebe, H. J., "Die Goliathperikope 1 Sam. XVII 1–XVIII 5 und die Textform der Septuaginta," *VT* 6 (1956), pp. 397–413 (407).

94 Cf Japhet, *Chronicles*, 369; Knoppers, G. N., *I Chronicles 10–29: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary*. The Anchor Bible, (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 2004), p. 736.

95 Tuell believes that the Chronicler was not responsible for this alteration and merely copied it from a different source than the one preserved in the MT. See Tuell, S. S., *First and Second Chronicles: Interpretation* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), p. 83; For more of the sources of Chronicles and the question of its historical accuracy, see Cogan, M., "Tendentious Chronology in the Book of Chronicles," *Zion* (1980), pp. 165–172; Japhet, *Chronicles*, 16–23; idem "The Book of Chronicles: A History," *Shnaton* (2004), pp. 101–117; Weinberg, J. P., "The Book of Chronicles: Its Author and Audience," *Eretz-Israel, Avraham Malamat Volume* (1993), pp. 216–220.

חנית כמנור ארגים.[96] This evidence indicates that the one-on-one combat against a giant is a repeated motif of heroism; the bigger the enemy, the greater the victory, and giants can be found anywhere, within various ethnic groups, related or unrelated to the Rephaim.

2 Sam 21:20–22/1 Chr 20:6–8: The battle against the fourth Philistine takes place in Gath, one of the main settlements of the Philistines.[97] The Philistine is addressed as a *man of mādôn* (Hebrew *Qere* מָדוֹן, "strife," *Ketib* מדין),[98] whereas the Chronicler calls him a *man of midâ* (Hebrew מִדָּה, "size, stature").[99] This emphasis on the Philistine's size probably seemed necessary to the Chronicler, because other than the name "Rephaim," there is no clear mention in 2 Sam 21 of the size of the Philistines, and it can only be guessed at by the context of their name, the mentioning of Goliath or the weight of their equipment. Furthermore, this warrior has a pronounced deformity; he was born with a total of twenty-four digits, a medical condition known today as Polydactyly, which is hereditary and extremely rare. It is caused by genetic mutation, and is frequently accompanied by defects in other organs due to abnormal embryonic development.[100] It is unlikely that a baby with such a condition would survive in the Iron Age, let alone grow up to become a warrior. Thus, this deformity, together with his size is a deliberate mythic element, used to instill fear in the heart of the readers in order to demonize him as a member of the Rephaim, who are not only giants, but may be deformed in fearsome ways. The text in 2 Sam 21 ends with a closing line, numbering the four Rephaim again, which is missing from 1 Chr 20, probably due to the omitted first battle which mentions Kind David's fatigue.

What were the Rephaim doing with the Philistines? According to these texts, they were the elite force, the finest warriors, joining or possibly leading the

96 Yadin determines that the simile addresses the shape of the weapon, and not its size. See Yadin, Y., "Goliath's Javelin and the מנור ארגים," *PEQ* 86 (1955), pp. 58–69; Zorn claims there is sufficient evidence to indicate that Goliath was a chariot riding warrior. See Zorn, J. R., "Reconsidering Goliath: An Iron Age I Philistine Chariot Warrior," *BASOR* 360 (2010), pp. 1–22.

97 Located in Tell *eṣ-Ṣâfi*. For more, see Levin, Y., "Gath of the Philistines in the Bible and on the Ground: The Historical Geography of Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath," *Near Eastern Archaeology* 80, *The Tell eṣ-Ṣâfi/Gath Archaeological Project* (2017), pp. 232–240.

98 Cf Jer 15:10; Hab 1:3; Prov 15:18.

99 Cf Is 45:14; 1 Chr 11:23.

100 See Phadke, S. R. and Sankar, V. H., "Polydactyly and Genes," *Indian Journal of Pediatrics* 77 (2010), pp. 277–281 (280); Also, Guo, B., Lee, S. K. and Paksima, N., "Polydactyly: A Review," *Bulletin of the Hospital for Joint Diseases* 71 (2013), pp. 17–23; Malik. S., "Polydactyly: Phenotypes, Genetics and Classification," *Clin Genet* 85 (2014), pp. 203–212.

troops to battle.[101] The Ugaritic Rephaim in KTU 1.20–1.22, and other sources also depict them as an elite force of warriors, chariot riders and heroes. If we set aside the Rephaim's mythical aspects of size and deformity in 2 Sam 21/1 Chr 20, we might as well be talking about the same thing. Was the concept of the Rephaim embraced by the Philistine people? Unfortunately, we know almost nothing about the Philistines' original belief system. The little we do know according to Biblical texts, is that they embraced the belief system which they encountered in the Levantine area.[102] They worshiped deities such as *ʾAštorẹt* (עשתרת), *Dāgōn* (דגון) and *Baʿal-Zebūb* (בעל זבוב).[103] These deities were also worshipped in Canaan, Ugarit and the Phoenician settlements. Since the Rephaim were an integral part of the Ugaritic and Phoenician belief system, it is not farfetched to conclude that Philistines embraced a concept of heroic godlike men, an elite force such as depicted in KTU 1.20–1.22. They were probably generals or commanders of the Philistine army, and referred to themselves in such a manner. And so, it seems that the Philistines had their own Rephaim, as in many other places of the Levant.

4.4.2.3 Valley of Rephaim

Another support to the claim that the Philistines embraced the concept of the Rephaim is seen in the name "Valley of Rephaim." This geographic location is distinct from the Land of the Rephaim, the Transjordan *Bāšān*, where the Rephaim probably originated from (§4.4.1.4). It appears eight times in the Bible, seven of which are quoted here, and the eighth, which appears in Isa 17:5, is most likely to be a simile, and is discussed below.

> Josh 15:8: *Then the boundary ascended into the Valley of Ben-Hinnom, along the southern flank of the Jebusites, that is, Jerusalem. The boundary then ran up to the top of the hill which flanks the Valley of Hinnom on the west, at the northern end of the Valley of Rephaim.*

> Josh 18:16: *Then the boundary descended to the foot of the hill by the Valley of Ben-Hinnom at the northern end of the Valley of Rephaim; then it ran down the Valley of Hinnom along the southern flank of the Jebusites to En-rogel.*

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101 See L'Heureux, C. E., "The yelîdê hārāpā': A Cultic Association of Warriors," *BASOR* 221 (1976), pp. 83–85.

102 See Ahituv, "Plęšęt, Plištīm," 490–491.

103 For *ʾAštorẹt*, see 1 Sam 31:8–10; For *Dāgōn* see: Jud 16:23; 1 Sam 5:2–7; 1 Chr 10:10; For *Baʿal-Zebūb* see 2 Kgs 1:2–16. See also Hindson, E. E., *The Philistines and the Old Testaments* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Book House, 1971), pp. 25–35.

> 2 Sam 5:18: *The Philistines came and spread out over the Valley of Rephaim.*
>
> 2 Sam 5:22: *Once again the Philistines marched up and spread out over the Valley of Rephaim.*
>
> 1 Chr 14:9: *The Philistines came and raided the Valley of Rephaim.*
>
> 2 Sam 23:13: *Once, during the harvest, three of the thirty chiefs went down to David at the cave of Adulam, while a force of Philistines was encamped in the Valley of Rephaim.*
>
> 1 Chr 11:15: *Three of the thirty chiefs went down to the rock to David, at the cave of Adulam, while a force of Philistines was encamped in the Valley of Rephaim.*

The first two verses that mention the Valley of Rephaim (Josh 15:8; 18:16) are a part of detailed descriptions of the exact borders of the tribes of Judea and Benjamin. These descriptions allow us to locate the Valley of Rephaim South-West of Jerusalem, around the same place it lies today (see fig 6.). According to Flavius, the Valley is wide, and stretches out to Bethlehem.[104] On its South-Western end the Valley opens to a tributary of the *Soreq* River, which reaches west, to the land of the Philistines.[105] The descriptions of these borders must have been formed much later than the time of Joshua, when there was a need to document the boundaries and territories of each tribe and to keep these documents in an administrative center in order to prevent future disputes, probably by the monarchy. However, there is not a consensus regarding the royal house or the time in which these documents were written.[106]

L'Heureux indicates that five cases out of the eight which mention the Valley of Rephaim, are directly linked to the Philistines, suggesting that the name was given to the Valley by the Israelites following the Philistine occupation of the same place.[107] Although it is possible that the name of the Valley is older than the time of the Israelite conquests, all of the historical evidence regarding the Valley in 2 Sam and 1 Chr indicates that the Philistines separated Jerusalem from Bethlehem by camping there.[108] As discussed above regarding 2 Sam 21/

104 See Antiquities of the Jews, book 7, 12:4.

105 See Ahituv, S. "'Ēmęq Rᵉpāīm," in EB vol 6 (1962), pp. 299–300.

106 See the discussion in (1976 ,ירושלים: קרית ספר) יהושע ,ספר ,קויפמן ,י׳, pp. 185–190.

107 See L'Heureux, "yelîdê hārāpā'," 85.

108 Segal believes the name was given to the Valley because of the ancient Rephaim who dwelled there. See Segal, *Samuel*, 266.

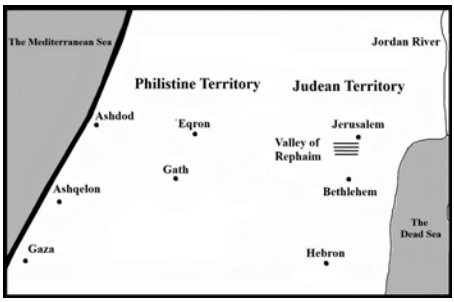

FIGURE 6
Valley of Rephaim

1 Chr 20, it is unlikely that the Philistines, who were probably led by Rephaim champions, just happened to camp in a valley of the same name, and so there must be a connection between the two, and the concept of the Rephaim was a part of the Philistine belief system.[109]

4.4.3 *Conclusion of the Two Traditions*

In conclusion, the two traditions of the living Rephaim, west and east of the Jordan River, exist side by side, and are only contradicted by the allusion that *ʿOg* is the last of the Rephaim. In both traditions they are enemies of Israel, giants or deformed, elite warriors, generals and leaders, defeated over and over again until they are no more than a collective memory. Obviously, these were more than mindless giants, harnessed by different ethnic groups to fight the Israelites, but well-known and honored individuals, much like the Rephaim in Ugaritic and Phoenician sources. It is difficult to distinguish between the concepts of giants and the Rephaim, and it seems likely that both were combined much earlier, before these texts were written.

Which tradition came first, the eastern or western Rephaim? And did one originate from the other? It seems likely that both traditions existed separately. Just as we can find Rephaim in Ugarit, *ʾUdm*, Lebanon, Sidon and other locations in literary sources, they can be found in the *Bāšān* and Gath too. All of these settlements shared similarities in their belief systems, which suggests that the concept of the Rephaim emerged in one location, then spread to other

109 Besides the sources in Josh 15:8; 18:16, that belong to a later hand. del Olmo Lete, who sees the Rephaim in the context of the dead, suggests the Valley was given the name because of Valley of Ben-Hinnom in the northern part of the Valley of Rephaim, which was a center of human sacrifice rituals for Molech (see 2 Kgs 23:10; Jer 7:31–32). See del Olmo Lete, G., "Bašan o El 'Infierno' Cananeo," *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 51–60; Again, all indications of the Rephaim, especially in Biblical sources which address the Valley, describe living Rephaim who later died, and not chthonic figures.

places in the Levant.[110] Nevertheless, the *Bāšān*, as the original location of the Rephaim (§4.4.1.4), seems to represent an earlier tradition than all others, including Ugarit. However, the Deuteronomist (Deut 3:11) created a divergence between the two Biblical traditions, that even later hands that placed giants in the Philistine settlements (Josh 11:22) could not undo.[111]

4.5 The Dead Rephaim in Biblical Literature

In Biblical literature, the Rephaim are mentioned when they are either dead, or in the process of being killed. Both traditions of the living Rephaim portray this well. Killing them is a symbol of strength, since they are the most fearsome warriors in the armies of the enemy. When we move on to sources that mention the dead Rephaim, we immediately see that the attitude towards them is the exact opposite to that found in Ugaritic and Phoenician texts. If the Rephaim are the best of mortals in life and the best in death (as in KAI 13–14, 117; KTU 1.161), in Biblical traditions they are the worst and most terrifying of all the dead. They become a symbol of those who will never be forgiven or resurrected, buried in the depths of the Underworld. They are also referred to as a specific group among the general dead, and used as metaphors and allegories.[112] This deliberate attitude towards them is best illustrated in Isaiah and Ezekiel, leaving no room for doubt that the Rephaim were meant to be eliminated by God as a specific theological agenda.

Surprisingly, the mention of the dead Rephaim does not refer to them as giants, but does recognize them as rulers of different peoples, who believed themselves to be divine, and were punished for it. This shows that the Rephaim = giants concept is not fixed in every Biblical source.

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110 Bartlett suggests that the tradition of the Rephaim and giants east and west of the Jordan had somehow fused during the fighting against the Ammonites in Rabbah (2 Sam 11–12), the place of *ʿOg*'s famous bed: "perhaps soldiers at the siege of Rabbah of the Ammonites heard tell of Og, and putting him into the same category as the Anakim and Rephaim, known to them as early inhabitants of southern Judah, named a basaltic sarcophagus near Rabbah after Og." See Bartlett, J. R., "Sihon and Og, Kings of the Amorites," *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 257–277 (270); But as the Ugaritic text KTU 1.108 reveals, the existence of Rephaim in the *Bāšān* is attested to much earlier era than the time of King David.

111 The Book of Joshua also mentions both traditions, the Valley and the Land of the Rephaim, which indicates its many stages of editing.

112 Talmon suggests that the concept of Rephaim and *mtm* was mistakenly translated by Biblical scribes as the dead. As I show in this chapter, the Biblical scribes know what the Rephaim are and there is no confusion on their side. See ש. rpu/i(m) ,"בספרות אוגרית רפאים שבמקרא ו- בית מקרא (1985), עמ׳ 16–27, טלמון."

4.5.1 *Isaiah*

4.5.1.1 Isaiah 14: Prophecy for the King of Babylon

Chapter 14 is one of the most debated chapters in the Book of Isaiah, due to its fantastic, imaginative and mythological aspects. Our focus lies on verses 3–23, which depict a song (Hebrew משל) that is meant for the king of Babylon. It is a proverb of the king's vanity, his punishment by God, mockery of his vanity and the joy of the land after his death. When the tyrant is gone, the whole land bursts into song, even the personified trees, which will be spared from being cut down to serve his needs (7–8). The following section is the most relevant, when the Rephaim address the king (9–15):

> 9. *Šᵉʾōl below was astir to greet your coming, rousing for you the Rephaim*
> *Of all earth's chieftains, raising from their thrones all the kings of nations.*
> 10. *All speak up and say to you, "So you have been stricken as we were, you*
> *have become like us*. 11. *Your pomp is brought down to Šᵉʾōl, and the strains*
> *of your lutes. Worms are to be your bed, Maggots your blanket".* 12. *How are*
> *you fallen from heaven, O Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar? How are you felled to earth, O*
> *vanquisher of nations*. 13. *Once you thought in your heart, "I will climb to the*
> *sky; Higher than the stars of God I will set my throne. I will sit in the mount*
> *of assembly, on the summit of Zaphon*. 14. *I will mount the back of a cloud.*
> *I will match the Most High.* 15. *Instead, you are brought down to Šeʾōl, to the*
> *bottom of the Pit*.

The Biblical Underworld (*Šᵉʾōl*) is preparing for the arrival of the sinful foreign king, and so its inhabitants, the Rephaim, earth's chieftains (*ʿtūdê ʾāręṣ*), and kings of nations will all be risen up from their thrones in the Underworld.[113] The connection between the Rephaim, leaders and kings is very conspicuous in Ugaritic and Phoenician sources, and also in Biblical texts, such as king *ʿOg* and the Philistine generals. As in other cases, "Rephaim" is not another word for the dead, but a certain segment of the population, who happen to be dead in this situation. The earth's chieftains are represented by a metaphor: *ʿtūdê ʾāręṣ*. The Hebrew עתוד ("he-goat") in some cases is a shepherd, a leader of men.[114] The Rephaim welcome the king with mockery in verses 10–11. The king, who believed himself to be a divine mortal, like all other Rephaim, eventually died like them, and the boundary between the divine and the mortal is

113 The word pair which is used here (הקים/עורר) is attested in various forms in other texts. Cf Jud 5:12; Isa 51:17.

114 Cf Jer 50:7; Zech 10:3.

preserved.[115] The king's vanity, believing himself to be divine, is portrayed in verses 12–14 by the rhetorical questions addressed to *Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar*. Most believe that the comparison between the king of Babylon and *Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar* is based on a myth, probably known to the audience of the prophet, of a deity or a divine man who was struck down for his vanity. The character of *Hêlēl* has aroused the curiosity of many scholars, who link these verses with stories found in Sumerian, Babylonian, Greek, Ugaritic and South-Arabian myths, or a mixture of them.[116] The Septuagint translation of *Hêlēl* (*ἑωσφόρος*) and the Vulgate's (Lucifer) suggest that the name should be identified as *Heosphoros*, the morning star (Venus), and some suggest that the myth is based on an

115 "Stricken" (10) is Hebrew חֻלֵּיתָ, passive form of Ḥ-L-Y ("to get sick").

116 For only a partial list of possible identifications of *Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar* see Oldenburg, who compares the Canaanite-Arabic god *ʿṯtr* to *Hêlēl* based on South-Arabian inscriptions. See Oldenburg, U., "Above the Stars of El: El in South Arabic Religion," *ZAW* 82 (1970), pp. 187–208; Oswalt sees the story of *ʿṯtr*, trying to replace the god *Baʿalu* in the Ugaritic myth (KTU 1.6, I, 43–65) as the background of the myth in Isa 14. See Oswalt, J. N., *Isaiah*: *Chapters 1–39* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1986), p. 321; A deity named *Hll* is also mentioned in several Ugaritic texts (KTU 1.17, II, 27; KTU 1.24:41–42). Gallagher finds a similarity with the myth of *Enlil* (Akkadian *Illil*), the Sumerian god. See Gallagher, W. R., "On the Identity of Hêlēl Ben Šaḥar of Is. 14:12–15," *UF* 26 (1994), pp. 131–146; Astour finds parallels with several myths, especially the Ugaritic myth (KTU 1.123), see Astour, M. C., "Some New Divine Names from Ugarit," *JAOS* 86 (1966), pp. 277–284 (282); idem, *Hellenosemitica*, (Leiden: Brill, 1967), pp. 269–271; Another popular comparison of *Hêlēl* is to the fall of Phaethon, son of Helios in Greek myth. See Kaiser, O., *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1973), p. 40; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 222; McKay discusses several Greek parallels and identifies the word *Šāḥar* ("dawn") with the deity *Šḥr* in Ugaritic Myth (KTU 1.23), and also believes it is a feminine deity. See McKay, J. W., "Helel and the Dawn-Goddess: A Re-Examination of the Myth in Isaiah XIV 12–15," *VT* 20 (1970), pp. 451–464; See also Heiser, M. S., "The Mythological Provenance of Isa. XIV 12–15: A Reconsideration of the Ugaritic Material," *VT* 51 (2001), pp. 354–369; Watts, J. D. W., *Isaiah 1–33*. WBC 24 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1985), p. 210; Wildberger sees *Hêlēl* as Phaethon, son of Eos, goddess of the dawn. See Wildberger, H., *Isaiah 13–27: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997), pp. 65–66; Van Leeuwen finds parallels with the Mesopotamian myth of Gilgamesh. See van Leeuwen, R. C., "Isa 14:12, ḥôlēš al gwym and Gilgamesh XI, 6," *JBL* 99 (1980), pp. 173–184; For more general discussions of this character, see O'Connell, R. H., "Isaiah XIV 4B–23: Ironic Reversal through Concentric Structure and Mythic Allusion," *VT* 38 (1988), pp. 407–418; Loretz, O., "Der Kanaanäisch-Biblische Mythos vom Sturz des Šaḥar-Sohnes Hêlēl (Jes 14,12–15)," *UF* 8 (1976), pp. 133–136; Shipp, R. M., *Of Dead Kings and Dirges: Myth and Meaning in Isaiah 14:4b–21*. AB 11 (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 67–80; Watson, W. G. E., "Helel," in *DDD*, pp. 392–394. Köszeghy discusses the political background of this myth. See Köszeghy, M., "Hybris und Prophetie: Erwägungen zum Hintergrund von Jesaja XIV 12–15," *VT* 44 (1994), pp. 549–554.

astronomical phenomenon.[117] It is also possible that *Hêlēl* refers to an actual historical character.[118]

This text reveals that the scribe was familiar with the concept of the Rephaim as it appears in the belief systems of other nations and possibly in the history of Israel, and was critical of it because of his adherence to the idea of a single God; every man who declares his own divinity will be severely punished. It is not surprising to see that the punishments for the king are similar to those we find in the burial inscriptions of the Phoenician kings, discussed above (§3.3): "A burial with Rephaim will not be established for him, and he will not be buried in a grave, and a son or descendant will not be established for him" (KAI 14:7–8). And in Isa 14: "*While you were left lying unburied, like loathsome carrion … You shall not have a burial like them … and* (*God*) *will wipe out from Babylon name and remnant, kith and kin.*" (19–22). The text also resembles Ezek 28:1–10, a prophecy against the Phoenician King of Tyre, who believes he is divine and is compared to *Dān'ilu*, one of the Rephaim (see §4.5.2). This demonstrates that both prophets were familiar with living kings, historical or mythical, who referred to themselves as Rephaim, even though they only addressed the mortal side of the kings, and excluded the divine.[119] The Ugaritic text KTU 1.161 is echoed in the depiction of the Rephaim in Isa 14; they are all grouped together, the kings and leaders of old, who rise to meet the living member who joins them. Only in Isa 14, are the Rephaim invoked by God, not

117 Van Der Sluijs discusses the comparison to Arabic *hilâl* ("crescent moon") and concludes that the astral phenomenon which lies at the base of the myth is a sickle-shaped comet. See van der Sluijs, M. A., "Hll: Lord of the Sickle," *JNES* 68 (2009), pp. 269–282.

118 Tur-Sinai believes that *Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar* is the distorted name of a Babylonian army general. See נ"ה טור-סיני, הלשון והספר ב' (ירושלים: ביאליק, 1951).

119 Some bring Ezek 32:17–32 to this discussion, which depicts the prophecy on the fall of Egypt, and the heroes, kings and rulers of other foreign nations in the Underworld. The words גִּבּוֹרִים נֹפְלִים are linked with the Nephilim and giants by the Septuagint (*γιγάντων*), and the general image of the prophecy bears a resemblance to the description of the Rephaim in the Underworld in Isa 14. Despite the Septuagint translation, Ezek 32 does not mention the Rephaim by name, and the use of N-P-L (נֹפְלִים) is common for heroes who die in combat (1 Sam 31:8; 2 Sam 1:12, 19, 25; 2 Kgs 25:11 and more). Considering Ezekiel's other vivid and imaginative descriptions of the dead (Ezek 37:1–14, for example) and the fact that none of the heroes in this passage is accused of presenting himself as divine (as in Ezek 28:1–3 and Isa 14:12–15), it is difficult to conclude that Ezek 32:17–32 indeed deals with Rephaim. The Rephaim may be included in a genre of heroes in literature, but not all dead heroes are Rephaim. For more, see Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012), pp. 189–195; Doak, B. R., "Ezekiel's Topography of the (Un-)Heroic Dead in Ezekiel 32:17–32," *JBL* 132 (2013), pp. 607–624; Hendel, R. S., "Of Demigods and the Deluge: Toward an Interpretation of Genesis 6:1–4," *JBL* 106 (1987), pp. 13–26 (22).

the by participants in a ceremony, and they do not greet the king, but ridicule him. Furthermore, they sit on their thrones in the Underworld, which is similar to the ceremony of the descending of *Niqmaddu*'s throne in KTU 1.161, 20–22.

Another interesting point of comparison is the fact that nowhere in Ugaritic or Phoenician sources are the Rephaim presumed to be immortal, and they die just like every other man. In Isa 14 the prophet also mentions this in the words of the Rephaim (14:10), who explain that they all died, in spite of their presumed divinity, and so will the arrogant king.[120] This text provides very clear evidence that the concept of Rephaim was well-known, but rejected and ridiculed by the scribe of Isaiah.

4.5.1.2 Isaiah 17:4–8

In the prophecy for Damascus, the prophet tells of the poor fortune of the kingdom of Aram, comparing its ruin to the fall of the Northern Kingdom of Israel to the Assyrian Empire. Portraying the decreasing numbers of the people of Israel, the prophet uses the metaphor of a harvest (4–5):

> 4. *In that day, the glory of Jacob will fade; the fat of his body will waste away.*
> 5. *It will be as when reapers harvest the standing grain, gathering the grain in their arms, and* (*he will be*) *as someone gleans heads of grain in the Valley of Rephaim.*

Jacob, representing the twelve tribes of Israel, once healthy and fat, has faded and wasted away. The allegory refers to the ten tribes out of the initial twelve that are exiled and scattered, leaving only the tribes of Judah and Benjamin in the kingdom of Judea. In verses 5–6, the prophet uses an image of reapers, coming to harvest the crop, and Jacob is presented as כִּמְלַקֵּט שִׁבֳּלִים בְּעֵמֶק רְפָאִים, a man who needs to glean heads of grains, like the poor who glean from the corners of the fields after the harvest, taking the לקט, the crops that have been left by the reapers.[121] In verse 6, the prophet explains that all that is left in the fields are "t*wo or three olives on the topmost branches ,four or five on the fruitful boughs*."[122] According to verses 7–8, on that day, when the people are in a terrible condition, hungry and poor, they will leave their false idols and return to God.[123]

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120 See 2 Kgs 18:32–35, as an example of such vanity, when many gods are told to be helpless in contrast of the powerful Assyrian king (the Rephaim are not a part of the East-Semitic belief system).

121 Cf Lev 19:9–10; 23:22.

122 The Hebrew text in verse 6: וְנִשְׁאַר בּוֹ ("and what is left of it") addresses the field.

123 The early crops (עוֹלֵלֹת) in verse 6 should also be left for the poor. Cf Lev 19:10; Deut 21:10.

Returning to the image in verse 5, we can see that the prophet mentions the Valley of Rephaim as the location of harvest. This has baffled some scholars, wondering why this valley would be mentioned of all places, and suggesting that the text is erroneous at this point, or the mention of the Valley is a later addition, or even that רפאים is a misspelling for אפרים.[124] Most believe that the text refers to the Valley near Jerusalem (see fig 6.), known for its fertile soil and good crops, which will be harvested, leaving a few grains for the poor.[125] It is unlikely that Isaiah did not know the Valley by its name. Nevertheless, considering Isaiah's approach to the concept of Rephaim (Isa 14 and 26), the strange appearance of the Valley in this text can be best explained as an allegory. The Rephaim in Isa 14 and 26 are depicted as those who must be destroyed without any chance of resurrection. When the prophet mentions a person gleaning heads of grain in the Valley of Rephaim, he refers to the valley as a fertile place, and reverses its meaning into "a valley which has no life, where nothing can grow."[126] This allegory amplifies the aridness of the land, in which poor, lean Jacob wanders, representing his remaining descendants, picking up remains of food as he is punished for his sins.

4.5.1.3 Isaiah 26:13–19

Chapter 26 is generally composed of praises to God and a future utopian vision of Judea as a strong nation, protected and loved by God, who maintains its peace. The Rephaim are mentioned twice in this chapter as an element which has no place in the nation in any way.

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124 See Buchanan Gray, G., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Isaiah I–XXVII* (Edinburg: T&T Clark, 1912), p. 299; Wildberger, H., *Isaiah 13–27: A Continental Commentary* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1997), pp. 158–159.

125 See Kaiser, O., *Isaiah 13–39: A Commentary* (London: SCM Press, 1973), pp. 79–80; Oswalt, J. N., *Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1986), p. 350.

126 See also Karge, P., *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1917), p. 635; This does not mean that the valley itself had any affiliation with the dead, as believes del Olmo Lete, G., "Bašan o El 'Infierno' Cananeo," *SEL* 5 (1988), pp. 51–60 (53); For further reading of uses of words with several meanings, see Paul, Sh., "Polysensous Polyvalency in Poetic Parallelism," in Fishbane, M., et al. (eds.), *"Sha'arei Talmon": Studies in the Bible, Qumran, and Ancient Near East Presented to Shemaryahu Talmon* (Winona Lake, In: Eisenbrauns, 1992), pp. 147–163; Tsumura, D. T., "Janus Parallelism in Nah 1:8," *JBL* 102 (1983), pp. 109–11; Yona, Sh., *The Many Faces of Repetition: Basic Patterns of Repetition in Construct-State Expressions in Biblical, Post- Biblical and Ancient Near Eastern Rhetoric* (Beer-Sheba: Ben Gurion University, 2013), pp. 84–85.

> 13. *Lord our God, other lords besides you have ruled over us, but your name alone do we honor.* 14. *The dead will not live, the Rephaim will not rise, you punished them and brought them to ruin; you wiped out all memory of them.*

Verse 13 opens with the text mentioning past events in the 1st pl. form, as if speaking from the perspective of the people. The speaker tells of times when other lords have ruled them (Hebrew בְּעָלוּנוּ), but now God's name alone will be honored. At first glance, it seems as if this verse reflects some formation of monotheistic ideology, as other gods previously ruled over the people, but from now on, God is the preferred deity. But the word בעל also means "owner, lord" and is directed at foreign rulers who took Judea and Israel by force, and forced their ideology on the people. This can be understood from verse 14, which specifies who those rulers are; the Rephaim.[127]

As in chapter 14, foreign kings, leaders of nations and all of the Rephaim dwell in the Underworld, ridiculed for believing they are more than men. This text has the same concept. Both parts of the parallel in verse 14 complete each other: מֵתִים בַּל יִחְיוּ // רְפָאִים בַּל יָקֻמוּ, as if to say: "The dead Rephaim shall not rise or live." Verse 14 specifies God's intent, which is to wipe them out entirely and to eliminate their memory.[128] It is interesting to see that in 1QIs[a], the MT word ותאבד ("and you shall perish"), is written as ותאסר (ʾ-S-R, "to bind, tie, imprison"), which may imply that ותאסר כל זכר למו might mean "and you shall imprison every man (Hebrew זָכָר) of them."[129] The monotheistic approach has no room for other deities or divine mortals, and so the Rephaim are not just enemies of Israel, they are the enemies of God, for questioning his status as the one and only god, as noted in verse 13. The myth of the Rephaim is thus mixed into the reality of the foreign royal ideology, and adds to the grudge that God might have against kings of other nations.

Verse 19 also mentions the Rephaim, and has a direct correspondence to verse 14. It takes the same idea, of the dead Rephaim who will never rise again

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127 Cf Buchanan Gray, *Isaiah*, 443–444; Watts, J. D. W., *Isaiah 1–33*. WBC 24 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1985), p. 206.

128 Oddly, the Septuagint translates "Rephaim" to *ἰατροὶ* ("physicians") in this verse, which is obviously a mistake, since it does not have any logical connection to the phrase, and stands in contradiction with Isa 14:9, where the word is translated to *γίγαντες* ("giants"). The dead Rephaim are the most damned of all, and are not "healers," as some claim. See Brown, M. L., "Was There a West Semitic Asklepios?," *UF* 30 (1998), pp. 133–154 (139–140); de Moor is convinced that the words Rephaim and *rōp̄ʾûm* ("physicians") were both read in the same way at first. See de Moor, J. C., "Rāpiʾūma-Rephaim," *ZAW* 88 (1976), pp. 323–345 (340); Again, the Septuagint diverse translation of the word Rephaim demonstrates the trouble to differentiate between the meanings of the written word רפאים.

129 Cf זכר in Gen 17:12; 34:15; Ex 12:48 and more.

and be forgotten, and explains that this is not the case for the other dead, who may be part of a general resurrection in the future. In verses 16–18, the prophet compares the people to a helpless pregnant woman who cries out in pain, but gives birth only to wind. The people admit their inability to bring salvation to the land, while the people of the nations around them only grow stronger and have not fallen. Verse 19 has the answer for the people's complaint of their decreasing numbers.

> 19. *Your dead will live, corpses will rise, let those who dwell in the earth wake up and shout for joy, because your dew is like the dew of the morning, but bring down the land of Rephaim.*

The first parallel in the verse (יִחְיוּ מֵתֶיךָ // נְבֵלָתִי יְקוּמוּן) has a syntax difficulty, connecting Hebrew יְקוּמוּן ("they will rise"), which is pl. 3rd, and the word נְבֵלָתִי ("my corpse"), in the 1st singular. The Syrian Targum suggests "their corpses" (נבלתם?). Yet it seems that there has been a dittography of the letter *Yod*, which was mistakenly attached to the initial first word, *n^{e}bālot* (נבלת, "corpses"), and the text should be read as נבלת יקומון. The text refers to "God's dead," meaning "his people," and not the dead Rephaim mentioned in verse 14. The "earth dwellers" will wake and rise and sing with joy for their resurrection, which is most likely to be a parable, as in Ezek 37:1–14, which aims to depict the resurrection of the Israelite nation.[130] The metaphor טַל אוֹרֹת טַלֶּךָ, which translates literally as "dew of lights is your dew," has been linked to Ugaritic myth by some scholars.[131] But the metaphoric connection between "dew," "light" and "life" is well attested to in Biblical literature, and the image of dew of lights, and waking the dead at dawn after a long night, seems fitting without linking it to any myth.[132]

The verse ends with three words: וְאֶרֶץ רְפָאִים תַּפִּיל. The verb *tapīl* (N-P-L) is interpreted by some translations as fem. sing. 3rd: "give birth," as if the land (ארץ, fem.) shall give birth to the Rephaim, as a general word for the dead,

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130 See Childs, B. S., *Isaiah* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), pp. 191–192;

131 See Oswalt, J. N., *Isaiah: Chapters 1–39* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1986), pp. 486–487; Spronk, K., *Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*. AOAT 219 (Kevelaer: Butzon & Bercker; Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986), p. 304; See the resemblance in KTU 1.3, I, 23–25; III, 6–7, which may be found in the names of the daughters of *Ba'alu: Pdry bt 'Ar* and *Tly bt Rb* (*'ar*: "light"; *ṭl*: "dew"), as *Ba'alu* is known to be a god of life. See Cassuto, U., "Baal and Mot in the Ugaritic Texts", IEJ 12 (1962), pp. 77–86. For a survey of Ugaritic goddesses, see Watson, W. G. E., "The Goddesses of Ugarit: A Survey," *SEL* 10 (1993), pp. 47–59.

132 For a connection between "dew" and "life," see Ps 133:3. For a connection between "light" and "life," see Ps 36:10; 56:14; Job 3:20; 33:30.

at resurrection.[133] The verb N-P-L is not usually used to describe birth, but a miscarriage (Hebrew נֵפֶל).[134] This interpretation should be rejected for two main reasons: 1) verse 19 addresses God in the 2nd person (מֵתֶיךָ ("your dead"); טַלְּךָ ("your dew")), and the verb *tapīl* should be read in the same way ("bring down"). When the verb N-P-L is used in the Book of Isaiah, it mostly depicts destruction, downfall and death, and not birth or miscarriage;[135] 2) the attitude towards the Rephaim in verse 14 cannot be more negative, as God took it upon himself to eliminate them and their memory. Why would he wish for them to be resurrected a few verses later? This verse should be seen as an explanation for verse 14, saying that resurrection *is* possible for everyone *except* the Rephaim, who will never be forgiven for their arrogance. This is expressed through a contrast: God's dead shall rise, but the Rephaim shall fall. The prophet uses the term "land of Rephaim" not in the same way as it appears in Deut 3:13, but as a place in the Underworld in which they dwell together, as in Isa 14:9 or KTU 1.161, not as chthonic figures, but those who once lived and are now dead. Again, as in the mention of the "Valley of Rephaim," this double meaning is probably intended, taking an actual geographic place and giving it a new interpretation; the Rephaim are now all dead, and their land does not exist in the world of the living any longer.

4.5.2 *Ezekiel's Daniel*

Like other prophets, Ezekiel uses imaginative and vivid prophecies that are sometimes original and sometimes influenced by earlier literature, domestic and foreign. The Rephaim do not appear in this book, apart from an appearance of the hero of the Legend of *Aqhatu*, *Dān'ilu*, in two prophecies.[136] These prophecies are unique because they are the only Biblical evidence of a positive portrayal of a member of the Rephaim in historical memory. The first text of the two is found in chapter 14:12–20:

> 12. *The word of Yahweh came to me:* 13. *O mortal, if a land were to sin against Me and commit a trespass, and I stretched out My hand against it and broke its staff of bread, and sent famine against it and cut off man and beast from it.* 14. *Even if these three men: Noah, Daniel, and Job, should be in it, they would by their righteousness save only themselves, declares Yahweh.* 15. *Or, if I were to send wild beasts to roam the land and they depopulated it, and*

133 For example, see the New Century Version; New International Version and more.

134 Cf Ps 58:9; Job 3:16; Ecc 6:3.

135 Cf Isa 3:8, 25; 10:4; 13:15; 14:12; 21:9; 24:20; 47:11 and more.

136 See above for the discussion of Ezek 32:27–32.

> *it became a desolation with none passing through it because of the beasts.* 16. *As I live, declares Yahweh, those three men in it would save neither sons nor daughters; they alone would be saved, but the land would become a desolation.* 17. *Or, if I were to bring the sword upon that land and say: "let a sword sweep through the land so that I may cut off from it man and beast."* 18. *If those three men should be in it, as I live, declares Yahweh, they would save neither sons nor daughters, but they alone would be saved.* 19. *Or, if I let loose a pestilence against that land, and poured out My fury upon it in blood, cutting off from it man and beast.* 20. *Should Noah, Daniel, and Job be in it, as I live, declares Yahweh, they would save neither son nor daughter; they would save themselves alone by their righteousness.*

The prophecy is constructed in a casuistic format, presenting the possible situation of a sinful nation, and four plagues with which God will punish the land: hunger, wild beasts, war and pestilence. The plagues will wipe out the entire population except for three righteous men, known to all, who will be spared but will not be able to save their children.[137] The first is Noah, the pre-Israelite survivor of the Great Flood, who is saved because of his moral behavior, compared to others of his time (Gen 6:5–12).[138] The third is Job, also a famous man, known for the tragedies which led to him losing his property, his children and his health, as a test of his faith.[139] Between these two well-known figures, appears another man called Daniel (:*qere*, *ketib*: דנאל).[140] Before the discovery of the Ugaritic texts, the early Jewish commentators assumed that this Daniel was the same as the hero of the Book of Daniel.[141] The Medieval Commentator Rashi explains that all of the three men witnessed their worlds destroyed and

137 Cf Jer 15:1–9, for a similar case mentioning Moses and Samuel who will be able to save the people by their righteousness.

138 I. Dershowitz attempts to track the original story of Biblical Noah using Ezek 14. See Dershowitz, I., "Man of the Land: Unearthing the Original Noah," *ZAW* 128 (2016), pp. 357–373.

139 Joyce studies the relations between the depiction of Job in Ezekiel, and compares it to the Biblical story of Job. See Joyce, P. M., "'Even if Noah, Daniel, and Job were in it …' (Ezekiel 14:14): The Case of Job and Ezekiel," in Dell, K. and Kynes, W. (eds.), *Reading Job Intertextually* (London/New-York: T&T Clark, 2013), pp. 118–128.

140 There is not much difference between דנאל and דניאל, and both theophoric names have similar meanings (see §2.3).

141 According to Ginsberg, there is a possibility that the hero of the Book of Daniel (probably a literary character) is named after Ezekiel's Daniel. See Ginsberg, H. L., "Dāni'ēl," in EB vol 2 (1954), pp. 686–697 (689).

then rebuilt.[142] This interpretation is problematic mainly due to chronological issues. Let us consider the Book of Daniel as a historical document, and assume that such a character existed; at the time of Ezekiel's prophecies Daniel was a very young man who was taken to Babylon, like others, to train as a scribe. Even if Ezekiel had known or heard of him, why would his audience have heard of him too (including the Phoenician king in Ezek 28:1–3)? And what had this young man done to earn a place between Noah and Job? To accept Daniel in the Book of Ezekiel as the hero in the Book of Daniel is almost impossible, yet some scholars believe that this is the case.[143]

Other Biblical candidates who carry the same name do not fit the description either.[144] Two interesting mentions of the name Daniel are found in the Jewish apocrypha. The first is found in 1 Enoch 6:1–7, which tells of the 200 Sons of God, the angels, who gather to take the daughters of men on Mount Hermon. The seventh of their leaders is named Daniel, a descendant of God. The second mention appears in the Book of Jubilees 4:20, which relates that Methuselah had a grandfather named Daniel. These texts preserve traditions of obscure knowledge of a certain Daniel, a pre-Israelite man or a divine character in the early days of mankind.

When the Ugaritic texts were revealed, it became almost a consensus that *Dān'ilu mt Rp'u*, the hero and the wise judge from the Legend of *Aqhatu* (KTU 1.17–1.19, and KTU 1.20, II, 7–8) should be identified with Daniel in the Book of Ezekiel.[145] But did the prophet know the exact version of the Legend

142 This perception found its way into Christian art as well, as Daniel became a saint affiliated with chastity. See Kress, B., "Noah, Daniel and Job: The Three Righteous Men of Ezekiel 14.14 in Medieval Art," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 67 (2004), pp. 259–267.

143 See Block, D. I., *The Book of Ezekiel: Chapters 25–48* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 1998), pp. 448–449; Dressler, H. H. P., "The Identification of the Ugaritic Dnil with the Daniel of Ezekiel," *VT* 29 (1979), pp. 152–61; idem, "Reading and Interpreting the Aqht Text: A Rejoinder to Drs J. Day and B. Margalit," *VT* 34, (1984), pp. 78–82.

144 As in 1 Chr 3:1, the second son of David.

145 See Allen, L. C., *Ezekiel 1–19*, WBC 28 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1994), p. 218; Cassuto, U., "Dāni'ēl," in EB vol 2 (1954), pp. 683–685; Day, J., "The Daniel of Ugarit and Ezekiel and the Hero of the Book of Daniel," *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 174–184; Joyce, "Job and Ezekiel," 178; Margalit, B., "Interpreting the Story of Aqht: A Reply to H. H. P. Dressler," *VT* 29 (1979): 152–61", *VT* 30 (1980), pp. 361–365; Noth, M., "Noah, Daniel und Hiob in Ezechiel XIV," *VT* 1 (1951), pp. 251–260; Spiegel, S., "Noah, Danel, and Job: Touching on Canaanite Relics in the Legends of the Jews", in Alexander, M. et al. (eds.), *Louis Ginzberg Jubilee Volume on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday* (New York: The American Academy for Jewish Research, 1945), pp. 305–355; Wahl, H. M., "Noah, Daniel und Hiob in Ezechiel XIV 12–20 (21–3): Anmerkungen zum traditionsgeschichtlichen Hintergrund," *VT* 42 (1992), pp. 542–553; Zimmerli, W., *Ezekiel 1* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1979), p. 315.

of *Aqhatu*, written by *'Ilimilku*, more than 700 years earlier in another kingdom? Probably not. This might explain some discrepancies between the texts. In 1979, H. H. P. Dressler dealt with this issue, claiming that the character in Ezek 14 and 28 is not the one found in the Ugaritic stories because of several reasons; Daniel in Ezek 14 is depicted as righteous, and one who had saved his children in the past, but *Dān'ilu* is not depicted as righteous in the Ugaritic story, and his son tragically dies. Furthermore, in Ezek 28:1–3, Daniel is glorified for his wisdom, and the Ugaritic hero is not portrayed as especially wise.[146] Dressler's claims were refuted by J. Day and B. Margalit, who rejected his arguments entirely.[147] Dressler's claims can easily be disputed: 1) *Dān'ilu mt Rp'u* virtues of righteousness are expressed in several ways. Firstly, being one of the Rephaim places him as one of the great men of old, the flawless men. Secondly, in the legend, no sin can be attributed to him. On the contrary, he jealously feeds and appeals to the gods in order to gain their favor, which is similar the behavior of Job.[148] *Dān'ilu* is also a righteous judge, giving assistance to poor parts of society, the widows and orphans;[149] 2) it is true that *Dān'ilu* is not able to save his child, *Aqhatu*, but neither is Job. All of his children die, and even if he finds comfort in the children that are born to him later on, the tragedy still remains. Attempting to find who among these three men saves or does not save his children is irrelevant, once we focus on the concept of reward and punishment in the Book of Ezekiel (18:20):

> *The one who sins is the one who will die. The child will not share the guilt of the parent, nor will the parent share the guilt of the child. The righteousness of the righteous will be credited to them, and the wickedness of the wicked will be charged against them.*

In order to encourage the people, the prophet tells them they will no longer carry the sins of the fathers, nor the sons. Every man will be seen as responsible for his own sins. Ezek 14:12–20 follows this trend, suggesting that even if men such as these three existed, their children will not benefit from the righteousness of their fathers. It does not imply that in the original stories all of these men did somehow save their children; 3) as to the wise character of Daniel in Ezek 28:1–3, we must consider two things: firstly, again, *Dān'ilu* is

146 See Dressler, "Daniel of Ezekiel."

147 See Day, "Daniel"; Margalit, "Story of Aqht." Dressler replied to them both, still finding the hero in the Book of Daniel as a better candidate for the character in Ezek 14 and 28. See Dressler, "Aqht."

148 See KTU 1.17, on several occasions. Cf Job 5:1.

149 See KTU 1.17, V, 4–8.

a judge, a position that must have been obtained also by wisdom. Secondly, even if Ezekiel was familiar with the exact Ugaritic version, we must remember that much of tablets KTU 1.17–1.19 is missing. Furthermore, KTU 1.20 proves that there are more stories of *Dān'ilu* than the Legend of *Aqhatu*, possibly from when he was younger, which we know almost nothing about. These stories might just focus on other aspects of the hero, such as his wisdom. Daniel's wisdom is not the only important part of Ezek 28:1–9:

> 2. *O mortal, say to the Prince of Tyre, thus said Yahweh: "Because you have been so haughty and have said, "I am a god; I sit enthroned like a god in the heart of the seas," whereas you are not a god but a man, though you deemed your mind equal to a god's.* 3. *There, you are wiser than Daniel; in no hidden matter can anyone compare to you …"* 6. *Assuredly, thus said Yahweh: Because you have deemed your mind equal to a god's.* 7. *I will bring against you strangers, the most ruthless of nations. They shall unsheathe their swords against your prized shrewdness, and they shall strike down your splendor.* 8. *They shall bring you down to the pit; in the heart of the sea you shall die the death of the slain.* 9. *Will you still say: "I am a god" Before your slayers, when you are proved a man, not a god, at the hands of those who strike you down?*

This prophecy addresses the Prince (נָגִיד) of Phoenician Tyre, who is probably King *'Ittoba'al* III (591–573 BCE).[150] The king is accused of the same transgression as the Babylonian king (and *Hêlēl Bęn Šāḥar*) in Isa 14:12.[151] Both are foreign kings who consider themselves to be divine in the eyes of the prophets. Both are ridiculed for this, and are reminded of their mortal existence, and God's punishment that will follow their arrogance. Once more, we have a rather accurate description of one of the Rephaim through Biblical eyes; a ruler, thinking he is divine, that must be eliminated by God. The Rephaim were a part of the Phoenician belief system, as discussed above, and so it is not a surprise that Daniel/*Dān'ilu* is mentioned, as the prophet glorifies the king for being wiser than this mythological ruler. The use of *Dān'ilu* in this text, and not Noah or Job, suggests that the prophet preferred to refer to a well-known

150 See table of Phoenician kings in Boyes, P. J., "'The King of the Sidonians': Phoenician Ideologies and the Myth of the Kingdom of Tyre-Sidon," *BASOR* 365 (2012), pp. 33–44 (36).

151 For the mythical aspects of this text see Tuell, S. S., "The Book of Ezekiel as a Work in Progress: Indications from the Lament Over the King of Tyre (28:11–19)," in Tooman, W. A. and Barter, P. (eds.), *Ezekiel*. Forschungen zum Alten Testament 112 (Tübingen: Mohr Siebeck, 2017), pp. 66–97 (71–73).

member of the Rephaim, and of course, *Dān'ilu* is the only known leader of the three.[152]

It can be deducted from Ezek 14:12–20, that *Dān'ilu* is a figure that is shared by the Ugaritic, Israelite and Phoenician myths of ancient times, and so it seems that the tales of this hero were a tradition of several ethnic groups in the Levant, but were abandoned by the Israelites at some point, probably due to the formation of the monotheistic religion, because of the mythical aspects of these tales. Ezekiel refers to that ancient period, prior to monotheism. The positive depiction of *Dān'ilu* as one of the Rephaim is a surprising element. Contrary to Isa 14:9, Ezekiel's *Dān'ilu* is a righteous and wise figure, known to all by his praiseworthy traits. This does not mean that Ezekiel has a generally positive attitude towards the Rephaim, but that some nostalgic remnants of the ancient tale were still in use at his time.

4.5.3 *Psalm 88*

Psalm 88 is usually considered to be a complaint spoken by a singular person in terrible distress, and on the brink of death.[153] It is described as "the most anguished and least hopeful lament in the psalter."[154] This description has been given to it because of the lack of any response from God to relieve the agony of the distressed individual, which makes this unique in the Book of Psalms.[155] The Rephaim are mentioned once, in verse 11:

> *Do You work wonders for the dead? Do Rephaim rise to praise You? Selah.*

This question is one of several rhetorical questions in verses 11–13, which express the same idea: God has no memory in the Underworld. There are no people to perform wonders to, or to receive thanks and praise from. And so, what benefit would God achieve by not helping a dying member of his

152 Some later traditions consider Noah to be a giant, but there is no evidence to suggest that either he or Job were Rephaim/giants in Biblical literature. See discussion of Noah in Huggins, R. V., "Noah and the Giants: A Response to John C. Reeves," *JBL* 114 (1995), pp. 103–110.

153 The nature of this distress may be argued to be a disease, loneliness or a mental condition. Weiss sees this Psalm as a lament. See Weiss, M., "Psalm 88," *Tarbiẓ* (1993), pp. 153–167 (153); Some might suggest the vivid depictions of the speaker's condition are hyperbolic. See Mandolfo, C., "Language of Lament in the Psalms," in Brown, W. P. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 114–130 (124).

154 See Clifford, R. J., *Psalms 73–150* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2003), p. 86.

155 See Brueggemann W. and Bellinger, W. H. Jr., *Psalms* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), p. 378.

believers, and losing his praise?[156] Most interpret the Rephaim in this verse as the "shades of the dead," or the general dead, as suggested from the parallel מתים//רפאים.[157] But if we examine this a little more thoroughly, the purpose of choosing this word is clear:

> 5. *I am numbered with those who go down to the Pit; I am a helpless man.*
> 6. *Abandoned among the dead, like bodies lying in the grave of whom You are mindful no more, and who are cut off from Your care.*

The speaker counts himself as one of those who go down to the Pit (יוֹרְדֵי בוֹר), a common phrase used to describe the dead.[158] In verse 6, the Hebrew text בַּמֵּתִים חָפְשִׁי, is translated here as "*Abandoned among the dead*." The Hebrew word חפש usually means "freedom," but in this context it should be understood as "adrift, cut off from Yahweh's remembrance."[159]

The perception of the Rephaim in Ps 88 and Isa 26 is one and the same: they are the worst among the dead, those who are forever forsaken by God. Ps 88 depicts the dark hopelessness of a certain individual. His mention of the Rephaim does not address the general population of the dead, but a specific group of them, who he knows will never be able to praise God because they are condemned to spend eternity, like the speaker, in the worst of all places (Ps 88:7): *You have put me at the bottom of the Pit, in the darkest places, in the*

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156 The idea that the dead cannot praise God, and the use of this to convince him to save the speaker, is also attested in Ps 6:6; 30:10.

157 As in Isa 26:14, the Septuagint translates "Rephaim" to *ἰατροὶ* ("physicians"), which is obviously also a mistake. The terrible figures of the dead Rephaim cannot be referred to as "healers," as some claim. See Brown, M. L., "Was There a West Semitic Asklepios?," *UF* 30 (1998), pp. 133–154 (139–140); This is another case of misreading רפאים as *rōp̄ʾîm*, rather than "Rephaim."

158 Cf Isa 38:18; Ezek 26:20; 31:14,16: 32:18, 24–25,30 and more. Some see a resemblance to the description of the Ugaritic Underworld, as in the phrase *yrdm arṣ* ("those who go down to the ground"). Cf KTU 1.5, V, 15–16; KTU 1.114:22. See Dahood, M. S. J., *Psalms II: 51–100*. The Anchor Bible (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1982), p. 303; Smith, M. S., "Canaanite Background to the Psalms," in Brown, W. P. (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of the Psalms* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), pp. 43–56 (52).

159 As suggested by the *BDB*. Some compare this phrase to Ugaritic *bt ḫptt* (KTU 1.5, V, 15), as an epithet for the Underworld where the dead are free from their grief in the world of the living, which also bears resemblance to *Bēt Ha-Ḥŏpšīt* in 2 Kgs 15:5, where the leper King Azaria goes to attend his illness. Cf Clifford, *Psalms 73–150*, 88; Dahood, *Psalms II*, 303; Kraus, H. J., *Psalms 60–150: A Continental Commentary* (translated by Oswald, H. C.Fortress Press, 1993), p. 191; Others reject this comparison because of context, and see the word חפשי as "forsaken, forgotten." See Tate, M. E., *Psalms 51–100*. WBC 20 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1990), p. 396); Weiss, "Psalm 88," 157.

depths. Thus, this Psalm depicts the striking transformation in the depiction of the Rephaim, already seen in Isaiah; from the living foreign heroes and kings, the best of all men, to the worst of all of the dead in the Underworld. As in the Books of Job and Proverbs, discussed below, the Rephaim at this point become a symbol of hopelessness, despair and terror.

4.5.4 *Job 26*

In this chapter, Job responds to Bildad's third short speech that appears in the previous chapter (Job 25). The text is composed of two main parts; Verses 1–4: Job's sarcastic answer to Bildad, informing him that his words do not provide assistance to him in his plight, nor do they add any new insights. Verses 5–14: A demonstration of God's great impact upon the cosmos, and the conclusion that the human mind can barely grasp the vastness of God's work. Some believe that certain irregularities in the sequence of chapters 24–28 suggests that the text was damaged in the course of its transmission, and ascribe Job 26:5–14 to Bildad in the previous chapter, instead of Job.[160] The Rephaim appear only once in this part (5–6):

> 5. *The Rephaim tremble beneath the waters and their denizens.* 6. *Šᵉʾōl is naked before Him; Abaddon has no cover.*

In verses 5–14, the speaker tells of God's dominion over a list of well-known cosmic and mythological concepts such as *Ṣāpôn*, *Tōhû*, clouds, sky, pillars of the sky, the sea, *Rāhab*, *Nāḥāš Bāriaḥ* and more.[161] Surprisingly, the Rephaim open this section, being mentioned before all others. The Rephaim are said to be found under the water and its inhabitants, in the abyss.[162] They are described by the impf verb *Yᵉḥōlālû* (Ḥ-W-L, Polel stem), which most translate as "tremble" with fear, or "be made to writhe."[163] These are dead Rephaim, who God fights and completely destroys, as shown in Isa 26:14–19. The struggle against the Rephaim, as hinted to in these verses, is mythological, as are all other elements in this chapter. They are annihilated by God like *Rāhab* and

160 See the discussion in Clines, D. J. A., *Job 21–37*, WBC 18a (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 2006), pp. 630–634.

161 For the mythological aspects of this text, see Andersen, F. I., *Job* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 2008), pp. 217–218; Ayali-Darshan, N., "The Question of the Order of Job 26,7–13 and the Cosmogonic Tradition of Zaphon," *ZAW* 126 (2014), pp. 402–417; Roberts, J. J. M., "Ṣāpôn in Job 26,7," *Biblica* 56 (1975), pp. 554–557.

162 Cf Ps 88:7. According to some Jewish traditions, one of the gates to hell is found in the ocean. See Babylonian Talmud, ערובין 19:a.

163 Cf *BDB*, 296–297; For more examples cf Ex 15:14; Deut 2:25; Jer 5:22; Ps 77:17.

Nāḥāš Bāriaḥ, in his quest for dominion and the overcoming of chaos, and their defeat is now a symbol of his power.[164] This reference might be addressed to foreign leaders, kings and warriors of ancient times seeing themselves as divine, or even as giants, as some Biblical traditions depict the Rephaim by combining both myths into one. In any case, as in Ps 88, the Rephaim are the worst of those who dwell in the Underworld, and are not used as a general epithet for the dead, for what greatness can be displayed by the pitiful dead, who tremble with fear before God? And why is this fact mentioned prior to all of God's accomplishments?[165] The Rephaim in this text are a depiction of chaos and terror that have no place in the cosmos. They are now defeated and terrified in the naked and unprotected Underworld, which is a symbol of its weakness.[166]

4.5.5 *Proverbs*

The Rephaim appear three times in the Book of Proverbs. In all of these appearances, they are parts of warnings, describing the fate of those who choose the wrong path over the correct one. As in Ps 88 and Job 26, they are dead, found in the Underworld, and represent an object of terror, to be avoided. The first appearance is in Prov 2, in the warnings against the *'išâ zārâ*:

> 16. *It will save you from the forbidden woman, from the alien woman whose talk is smooth.* 17. *Who forsakes the companion of her youth and disregards the covenant of her God.* 18. *Her house sinks down to Death, and her course*

164 For more on the cosmic battle of God against the sea, see Ayali-Darshan, N., *Treading on the Back of the Sea: The Combat between the Storm-god and the Sea in Ancient Near Eastern Literature* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 2016); Day, J., *God's Conflict with the Dragon and the Sea: Echoes of a Canaanite Myth in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Kloos, C., *Yhwh's Combat with the Sea: A Canaanite Tradition in the Religion of Ancient Israel* (Leiden: Brill, 1986); Starr, O. M., "A Search for the Identity of Yamm 'Prince Sea,' of the Canaanite Baal and Anath Cycle," *Folklore* 84 (1973), pp. 224–237.

165 Many agree that the Rephaim are used here as an object of terror, included in the list of the enemies of God in the cosmos. See Clines, *Job 21–37*, 634; Gray, J. *The Book of Job* (Sheffield: Sheffield Phoenix Press, 2010), p. 328; Longman, T., *Job* (Ada, MI: Baker Academic, 2012), pp. 315–316.

166 Abaddon is a common epithet for the Underworld. See more in Barstad. H. M., "Sheol," in *DDD*, pp. 768–770; Hutter, M., "Abaddon," in *DDD*, p. 1; Cf the use of כסות and ערום in Ex 22:26; Job 24:7, 10, describing the poor and defenseless. Cf also J. G. Janzen, *Job* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1985), p. 177; Clines sees the naked Underworld as symbolic of being transparent, as if God is able to see the through the darkest abyss. See Clines, *Job 21–37*, 634. Yet in Job 18:21, the Underworld is described as a place so dark and deep, even beyond God's awareness, and so, the first interpretation is preferable.

leads to Rephaim. 19. *All who go to her cannot return and find again the paths of life*.

This text is part of the first section of Proverbs (chapters 1–9) and is composed of warnings, advice and wise sayings spoken by a teacher (or a father, or both) to a younger figure. Verses 16–19 are dedicated to warnings against the Strange Woman (*'iššâ zārâ*), a character that is the focus of the teacher's warnings several times.[167] There is no consensus regarding the identity of this female figure, and scholars may see her image as an allegory of evil and sin, a prostitute, a seductive divorced woman, a seductive married woman or a woman of different ethnical origin.[168] Whoever she might be, the teacher takes her possible influence very seriously, and uses all of his rhetorical abilities to put his student on the right path, away from her.

According to verse 17, this woman has left and forgotten both of the "men" in her life, her man ("companion of her youth") and God.[169] Her home is described as a path to the Underworld, and those who enter it will never return and die (see also Prov 7:26–27).[170] In verse 18 there is a parallel between Death and Rephaim, who are found on the woman's path.[171] Again, as in Isa 26:14–19, Job 26 and Ps 88, the Rephaim are not a name given to the general inhabitants of the Underworld, but they are those who have been forgotten by God, dwell in its deepest part and can never return or be invoked. They are an object of terror, used to frighten the young man who will join them if he does not listen. The Rephaim are also used to scare the student away from another seductive feminine character, the Woman of Folly (Prov 9:16–18):

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167 Cf Prov 5; 6:20–35; 7:1–26.

168 For selected studies which summarize the issue and discuss the various opinions, see Forti, T., "The 'Isha Zara' in Proverbs 1–9: Allegory and Allegorization," *HS* 48 (2007), pp. 89–100; Golf, M., "Hellish Females: The Strange Woman of Septuagint Proverbs and 4QWiles of the Wicked Woman (4Q184)," *JSJ* 39 (2008), pp. 20–45; Shupak, N., "Female Imagery in Proverbs 1–9 in the Light of Egyptian Sources," *VT* 61 (2011), pp. 310–323; Tan, N., *The "Foreignness" of the Foreign Woman in Proverbs 1–9: A Study of the Origin and Development of a Biblical Motif*. BZAW 381 (Berlin: de Gruyter, 2008), pp. 81–105.

169 The BHS proposes reading אלהיה ("her God") in 2:17 as אהלה (= חפתה, "canopy").

170 The word בָּאֶיהָ ("go to her") in verse 19 can be also interpreted in a sexual way. See Yoder, C. R., *Proverbs* (Nashville, TN: Abingdon Press, 2009), p. 32.

171 Fox suggests that it is possible that שחה ("sink') in 2:18, should be corrected to שתה ("set to"), and ביתה ("her house") to נתיבתה ("her path"). Cf נתיבותיהם // מעגלותם in Isa 59:8. See Fox, M. V., *Proverbs* (Atlanta, GA: SBL Press, 2015), p. 96.

> 16. *Let the simple enter here; and to those devoid of sense she says*: 17. "*Stolen waters are sweet, and bread eaten furtively is tasty*." 18. *He does not know that Rephaim are there, that her guests are in the depths of Šᵉʾōl.*

The Woman of Folly (*ʾēšęt kesīlût*) in verses 13–18 is probably the personification of "folly," which stands in opposition to the personification of "wisdom" (Prov 8–9:12). Both invite the student to their homes to dine, and appear as the dichotomic concept of good and evil, as one way leads to the a better and longer life, and the other, to a terrible fate.[172] The fool who is tempted to accept her invitation is not aware that this path also leads to the depths of the Underworld and to the Rephaim. It is interesting to see the word קְרֻאֶיהָ ("guests") referring to the Rephaim in verse 18 as if they are the Woman of Folly's companions, which gives her an even more frightening mythical quality.[173]

The third appearance of the Rephaim appears in the second section of Proverbs (10:1–22:16), which again, focuses on the benefits of wisdom above everything else:

> Prov 21:16: *A man who strays from the path of haśkēl, will rest in the company of Rephaim*.

The word *haśkēl* (Ś-K-L) means "knowledge," "mind," "thought."[174] A man who strays from the path of seeking wisdom will be punished, and his punishment is even more severe than death, which is reflected by the use of the word יָנוּחַ ("will rest"), and that is to join the company of the worst of all, the assembly (קָהָל) of Rephaim postmortem. What is striking about this warning, as well as the previous ones mentioned, is the obvious threat of dwelling with Rephaim, which echoes Phoenician sources, but from the *opposite* perspective (KAI 14:7–8):

7–8	*ʾm ʾš yʿmsn bm/škb z*	If a person will lift me from this tomb
	ʾl ykn lm mškb ʾt rpʾm	A burial with Rephaim will not be established for him

172 According to Shupak, there is a clear literary parallel between the Strange Woman and the Woman of Folly, although the latter is only metaphorical. See Shupak, "Female Imagery," 323; Murphy sees an "aura of death" which is connected with the fools in Proverbs. See Murphy, R. E., *Proverbs*. WBC 22 (Nashville, TN: Thomas Nelson Publishers, 1998), p. 160.

173 Cf 1 Sam 9:22; Est 5:12.

174 Cf Ps 119:99; Dan 1:17. In some translations it is translated as "prudence."

This warning, which also appears in KAI 13:6–8, indicates that whoever disturbs the Phoenician king's final rest, will be punished by *not* joining the Rephaim. This is also attested to in KTU 1.161, in which the Rephaim receive the recently deceased king into their community, which is considered a great honor. Thus, both cultures, the Ugaritic and Phoenician see the joining to the assembly of Rephaim as a blessing (probably also in KAI 117), while in Biblical sources it is a curse. This shows that the Rephaim are not just "the shades of the dead," but those who *also* reside in the Underworld.[175] It is good fortune to join their company, but it can also be a terrible punishment, depending on the point of view. The "dead Rephaim" in Biblical sources are not the "dead Rephaim" in Phoenician and Ugaritic sources, as the former represent the worst of the dead and the latter, the best of them. The Rephaim in of the Book of Proverbs are described in a rather similar way to Isa 14 and 26, Ps 88 and Job 26, as found in the deepest parts of the Underworld, and representing a fate worse than death – to be forgotten by God with no possible path to redemption.

4.6 Two Relevant Cases

Two cases, which are sometimes linked to the study of the Rephaim, need some clarification here. Although some see a direct or indirect connection to the Rephaim, there is not sufficient evidence to support this claim. Nevertheless, these cases teach us much on this field of study and the confusion regarding the Rephaim.

4.6.1 *The Case of T^{e}rāpîm*

The word *T^{e}rāpîm* appears on several occasions in Biblical literature, and refers to certain objects that are always mentioned in the pl. form. They are relatively small, and can be hidden in a camel's saddle or under blankets, and may even get lost.[176] They are found in temples, but also in private homes.[177] They serve a ritualistic function, and are possibly used as oracles.[178] Accordingly, their use is condemned at times.[179]

175 Contrary to Karge, P., *Rephaim. Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens* (Paderborn: Druck und Verlag von Ferdinand Schöningh, 1917), p. 625.

176 Cf Gen 31:34–35; 1 Sam 19:13.

177 Cf Jud 17:5; 18:14.

178 Also referred to as "gods." See Gen 31:30; Jud 18:24.

179 Cf 1 Sam 15:23; 2 Kgs 23:24; Ezek 21:26; Zech 10:2.

Various studies provide differing etymologies to the word, connecting it with words such as Hittite *tarpiš*, Hebrew *p^{e}tārîm*, Greek *Terpon-Therapon* and so on.[180] Some see the *T^{e}rāpîm* as carved figurines, known in the ancient Near East, which represent divinized dead ancestors of the family that may benefit the family, and owning them may also symbolize authority.[181] W. F. Albright, while responding to Ch. Virolleaud's suggestion of finding the word *T^{e}rāpîm* in Ugaritic texts, explains that the word derives from R-P-Y ("sag, slacken"),[182] and later adds: "as a possibility I may now add that *terāfim* may be a contemptuous deformation of a hypothetical noun (**tarpa'u*?) from the stem *rp'*, from which the name Rephaim (the spirits of ancestral heroes in Ugaritic, Phoenician and Hebrew) is derived."[183] This connection between the *T^{e}rāpîm* and Rephaim has been developed by others as well, who also highlight the possible use of the *T^{e}rāpîm* at times of illness. This may be suggested in 1 Sam 19:11–17, when Michal hides them under the covers instead of runaway David, and lies about his illness.[184] O. Loretz also developed this concept, linking the cult of these objects, representing dead divinized ancestors in several cults to the *T^{e}rāpîm* and Rephaim.[185]

The suggested link between *T^{e}rāpîm* and Rephaim is problematic for several reasons: 1) the Rephaim may be connected to ancestral cults is some way,

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180 See the Hittite connection in Hoffner, H. A. Jr., "Hittite Tarpiš and Hebrew Terāphîm," *JNES* 27 (1968), pp. 61–68, where the word *tarpiš* is compared to Akkadian *šedu*. Labuschagen sees *p^{e}tārîm* as the correct form of *t^{e}rāpîm*, derived from P-T-R ("the solve"), as connected to its function as solving visions and dreams. See Labuschagne, C. J., "Teraphim: A New Proposal for Its Etymology," *VT* 16 (1966), pp. 115–117; Berger sees a connection to the Greek deities Terpon and Theraphon. See Berger, P., "Terpon-Therapon," *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 4 (1897), pp. 51–56 (54).

181 See Draffkorn, A. E., "Ilāni/Elohim," *JBL* 76 (1957), pp. 216–224; Greenberg, M., "Another Look at Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim," *JBL* 81 (1962), pp. 239–248 (240–241); Spanier, K., "Rachel's Theft of the Teraphim: Her Struggle for Family Primacy," *VT* 42 (1992), pp. 404–412 (405); van der Toorn, K., "The Nature of the Biblical Teraphim in the Light of the Cuneiform Evidence," *CBQ* 52 (1990), pp. 203–222; For a summary of this subject, see Lewis, T. J., "Teraphim," in *DDD*, pp. 844–850.

182 See Albright, W. F., "Are the Ephod and the Teraphim Mentioned in Ugaritic Literature?" *BASOR* 83 (1941), pp. 39–42 (40, note 8); Also, Virolleaud, Ch., "La mort de Baal, poème de Ras-Shamra (Ie AB)," *Syria* 15 (1934), pp. 305–336 (309).

183 See Albright, W. F., *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan: A Historical Analysis of Two Contrasting Faiths* (London: Athlone Press, 1968), p. 168, note 43.

184 See Rouillard, H. and Tropper, J., "*trpym*, rituels de guérison et culte des ancêtres d'après 1Samuël XIX11–17 et les textwes parallèles d'Assur et de Nuzi," *VT* 37 (1987), pp. 340–361 (357, 359–360).

185 See Loretz, O., "Die Teraphim als 'Ahnen-Götter-Figur(in)en' im Lichte der Texte aus Nuzi, Emar und Ugarit," *UF* 24 (1992), pp. 133–178 (138–139, 148–151, 167–168).

but there is no evidence of their images being used as worshiped figurines or objects; 2) the Rephaim, alive or dead, do not serve as oracles in any text; 3) the Rephaim have no healing function and neither do the *T^{e}rāpîm* in Biblical literature. The story in 1 Sam 19:11–17 only tells of their use in filling the bed in order to pretend that David is sleeping under the covers, while Michal allows him to escape; 4) the resemblance between the bases of the two words, *trp* and *rp'*, is insufficient to establish a common origin. Thus, this suggested connection between *T^{e}rāpîm* and Rephaim should be rejected.

4.6.2 *The Case of Asa's Physicians*

Asa, one of the first kings of Judea, is known to be a renowned king in the first Book of Kings, who was loved by God and followed his ways with all his heart.[186] Unfortunately, Asa had some leg ailment that led to his death after a reign of 41 years. The Second Book of Chronicles adds some information about Asa's rule (chapters 14–16), and also describes his behavior as he became ill:

> 2 Chr 16:12: *In the thirty-ninth year of his reign, Asa suffered from an acute foot ailment; but ill as he was, he still did not turn to Yahweh but to physicians.*

The word *physicians* (MT: *rōp'îm*) was amended to "Rephaim" by some, prior to the discovery of the Ugaritic texts.[187] This correction is based on the Hebrew verb דָּרַשׁ in this verse that seems to address the physicians, as Asa chooses not to turn (לִדְרֹשׁ) to Yahweh but the *rōp'îm*. The use of this verb is also attested to in other Biblical sources, in the act of necromancy.[188] Thus, as in the case of *T^{e}rāpîm*, the Rephaim are considered by some to be beneficial dead, with healing abilities or as oracles that can predict the fate of the ill.[189] This correction

186 Cf 1 Kgs 15:11–14, 23; 22:41–43.

187 Hays ascribes this correction to W. Rudolph, editor of BHS. See Hays, C. B., *A Covenant with Death: Death in the Iron Age II and Its Rhetorical Uses in Proto-Isaiah* (Grand-Rapids, MI: Eerdmans Publishing, 2015), p. 160, note 146; It also appears in Jastrow, M. Jr., "Rô'ēh and Ḥôzēh in the Old Testament," *JBL* 28 (1909), pp. 42–56 (49–50, note 23).

188 Cf Deut 18:11; 1 Sam 28:7; Isa 8:19 and more.

189 For a partial list of studies which accept this correction, see Doak, B. R., *The Last of the Rephaim: Conquest and Cataclysm in the Heroic Ages of Ancient Israel* (Boston, MA: Ilex Foundation, 2012), pp. 184–185; Hays, *Covenant with Death*, 160, note 146; Hess, R. S., *Israelite Religions: An Archaeological and Biblical Survey* (Ada, MI: Baker Academic, 2007), p. 294; Mitchell, C., "Chronicles and Ben Sira: Questions of Genre," in Corley, J. and van Grol, H. (eds.), *Rewriting Biblical History: Essays on Chronicles and Ben Sira in Honor of Pancratius C. Beentjes* (Berlin/New York: de Gruyter, 2011), pp. 1–26 (16–17); Rouillard,

should be rejected for several reasons: 1) King Asa is described as one of the best kings of Judea. Ascribing to him the act of necromancy, which is considered to be a grave sin, does not fit with his description in the Book of Kings and Chronicles;[190] 2) the dead Rephaim in Biblical literature are seen as the worst of all dead. They are not beneficial spirits of the Underworld, but an object of terror; 3) the monotheistic approach rejects the idea of the Rephaim altogether, and the Chronicler could not have inserted this idea into the belief system of Judea, as if the dead Judean kings, ancestors of Asa, had seen themselves as Rephaim like the Ugaritic and Phoenician kings. The kings in Judea and Israel do not consider themselves to be Rephaim in Biblical texts, only foreign kings are addressed as such;[191] 4) the Rephaim are not healers or connected to healing. The etymology of their name derives from the same root, but in a different way, as explained above (§2.10);[192] 5) as described in this verse, this is not the first time that Asa does not turn to God. In verse 7, a prophet reproaches Asa for relying on the King of Aram, instead of on God. Verse 12 continues the same trend; the King prefers the help and council of men over God's, and these secular acts are not acceptable and considered to be a sin. The Chronicler provides an explanation for Asa's ailment, which is missing in the Book of Kings, and ascribes a rather minor sin to him. Not a terrible sin like necromancy, but a partial lack of faith. The vocalization of the MT is the correct one, and Asa's sin is simply seeking the advice of his physicians over God's.

4.7 Conclusion of the Biblical Evidence

The Biblical literature, as well as its early translations and interpretations, demonstrates the problems of fully comprehending the original concept of the Rephaim from a monotheistic perspective. This strengthens the theory that deliberate attempts were made at an early phase of the Israelite tradition to reshape this concept, and so we find the Rephaim interpreted in various ways. Nevertheless, there is uniformity with regard to this concept: the Rephaim in

"Rephaim," 700; van der Toorn, K., *Family Religion in Babylonia, Syria, and Israel*. SHCANE 7 (Leiden: Brill, 1996), p. 231.

190 This supposedly should remind the reader of other sinful kings, like Saul, turning to the Necromancer (1 Sam 28) or maybe even Ahaziah, king of Israel, turning to the Philistine *Baʿal-Zᵉbūb* instead of Yahweh when falling ill (2 Kgs 1:2–3). The case of Asa is different, and his character should not be placed in the same basket as Saul and Ahaziah.

191 Cf Deut 3:11; Isa 14:3–23; Ezek 28:1–9.

192 The Septuagint also supports the interpretation of רפאים in verse 12 as "physicians" (*ἰατρούς*).

all Biblical sources are either in the act of being killed or are already dead. Knowing that they are a "persona non grata" in the Bible, the next step is to ask why. The Ugaritic and Phoenician evidence suggests that these mythical men were treated as godlike or descendants of gods, which is also supported by Biblical evidence (Gen 6:1–4, Isa 14:9–15; Ezek 28:1–10). Many texts in Biblical literature highlight the divide between the divine and mortal existence, and the idea of divine men, offspring of Yahweh, was probably considered an abomination.

We meet the "living Rephaim" as giants and warriors, found east and west of the Jordan River among different ethnic groups. This shows that at least two traditions of living Rephaim existed, that were fused together at a later stage, and also provide two geographic locations with their names: "Valley of Rephaim" and "Land of the Rephaim." Finding the Rephaim with different groups of people in Biblical texts demonstrates that they are not a single ethnic group, but play a role in these societies that combines reality and myth, as they are the warriors and the leaders, who can also exist in rival kingdoms. Combining their myth with that of giants supports the idea of their mythic origin, and also the view of them as something negative and monstrous. Later on, we find another tradition of dead Rephaim. Again, they are considered to be a specific group, which was once alive, and now symbolizes the inhabitants of the deepest and darkest parts of the Underworld, since God destroyed them and their memory (Isa 26:14–19). They never represent the majority of the dead.

It can be assumed that the tradition of dead Rephaim came after that of living ones, but this assumption is not conclusive, since even after examining the relevant texts in Proverbs, Job and Psalms, it is impossible to determine which Rephaim the texts refer to; the giants, the foreign kings, heroes of old or to another myth that we have no knowledge of. The fact that God had to destroy them (Isa 26:14) and that they are affiliated with myth (Job 26), suggests some version of a legend, of God fighting and defeating the Rephaim at some point. It is also clear from Ezek 14 and 28 that narratives of Rephaim had a place in pre-Israelite society, and were loved and appreciated by the people. The lack of Rephaim kings in Judea and Israel, or in stories of heroes, suggests that this concept was not a part of royal ideology in ancient Israel.[193]

193 The best nominee to be a member of the Rephaim in Biblical literature is probably Samson. Many have noted the mythical elements in this story, while mostly comparing him to Heracles, another famous demigod. The story does have several parallel lines with the image of the Rephaim: 1) it is suggested in Jud 13 that Samson's mother meets one of the Sons of God, represented by a man or an angel. The result of this encounter leads to her pregnancy, which might hint at a sexual act in an earlier version, or some other divine conception; 2) Samson is a judge, a hero, of great strength; 3) he also represents

some tribes as a sort of individual champion, or a leader, in their struggle against the Philistines; 4) some see his name (Hebrew *šmš*, "sun"), as an indication of a Sun god/goddess cult that is connected to his origin. For more, see Aune, D. E., "Heracles," in *DDD*, pp. 402–405; Carus, P., "Mythical Elements in the Samson Story," *The Monist* 17 (1907), pp. 33–83; Galpaz-Feller, P., *Samson: The Hero and the Man: The Story of Samson* (*Judges 13–16*) (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006), pp. 33–36; Krappe, A. H., "Samson," *Revue Archéologique, Sixième Série* 1 (1933), pp. 195–211; Margalith, O., "Samson's Foxes," *VT* 35 (1985), pp. 224–229; Idem, "Samson's Riddle and Samson's Magic Locks," *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 225–234; Idem, "More Samson Legends," *VT* 36 (1986), pp. 397–405; Idem, "The Legends of Samson/Heracles," *VT* 37 (1987), pp. 63–70; Segert, S., "Paronomasia in the Samson Narrative in Judges XIII–XVI," *VT* 34 (1984), pp. 454–461 (459); Nevertheless, the mythic elements in the narrative of Samson are hidden deeply between the story's lines. Samson has a human father, and the origin of his strength in being a *nᵉzîr* of God (represented by his long hair). It is definitely possible that stories of demigod Rephaim influenced the story of Samson, which existed everywhere in the Canaanite and Philistine area (or maybe as an answer to the Philistine Rephaim), and so it is not necessary to link the myth of foreign Heracles to Biblical Samson, but rather to a local legend of Rephaim, which were obviously familiar to the people, as attested in Ezek 14 and 28.

CHAPTER 5

General Conclusions

Let us conclude: who were the Rephaim and where did they originate? In order to answer these questions, we began this quest with the oldest evidence available, found in ancient Ugarit. The texts written by the scribe *ʾIlimilku* are dated to the 14th century BCE and provide the earliest known depiction of the Rephaim of all Ugaritic texts. These texts (The *Kirta* story, the *Aqhatu* legend, the myth of the god *Baʿalu* and the *Rpʾum*) are usually called "myths," yet when speaking of a time when history and myth are one and the same, we must refer to *ʾIlimilku* as a historian, who writes of heroes and tales of old, like Biblical scribes telling the story of the Flood or tales of Abraham. The Rephaim in these texts are already a fixed concept, which originated long before the time of writing, in a location other than Ugarit.

Who were they? Tablets KTU 1.20–1.22, that focus greatly on these characters, tell of seven or eight heroes (*ǵzrm*, *mtm*), loved by the leading gods like *ʾIlu*, *Baʿalu* or *ʿAnatu*, and are called "divine ones" or "gods" (*ʾilnym*, *ʾilm*). They ride chariots and feast at banquets, and are also referred to as "brothers," and possibly "sons" or "grandsons," which tells us of their blood relations (KTU 1.22, I, 5–6; KTU 1.22, I, 2–3). At least one of them is a king (KTU 1.22, I, 9–10) and another is a well-known judge (*Dānʾilu*, KTU 1.20, II, 7–8, also father of *Aqhatu* in KTU 1.17–1.19). The Rephaim briefly appear in KTU 1.6, VI, 45–47, at the end of the *Baʿalu* cycle and in KTU 1.14–1.16, we find another member of them, the conqueror King *Kirta*. Since these are the earliest sources, written by the same master scribe, unbound by heavy editing, we can presume that they represent the most accurate depiction of the Rephaim.

The Rephaim are demigods, descendants of gods, and this gives them their stature and the legitimacy to rule and judge. The divine origin of the Rephaim is demonstrated in a number of ways: 1) they are called *ʾilnym* ("divine ones") or *ʾilm* ("gods") several times, but they are not actual gods, nor are they priests in the service of gods. They die like any other mortal, and they do not possess any supernatural powers; 2) it is said that they are called "sons"/"grandsons," and also "brothers" before *ʾIlu*, which points to their common origin from the main god in the Ugaritic pantheon; 3) in KTU 1.16, I, 9–11 and 17–23, King *Kirta*, a member of the Rephaim, is addressed as "son" and "descendant/family" of *ʾIlu*, and also referred to as one of the gods; 4) the use of the element of *Rpʾu* in theophoric names is much favored by the Ugaritic population, as seen in the discussion of KTU 1.108, which refers to the divine aspect of the Ugaritic

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king. This shows that the *Rp'u*, the divine aspect of the monarch, was given the honor of a god; 5) in Biblical literature, the Nephilim, the descendants of the coupling between the Sons of God and the daughters of men, are addressed as "heroes" and "known men," like the Rephaim in the Ugaritic text, and at a later stage, they are referred to as "giants" (Num 13:33). The "giants' myth" is combined with that of the Rephaim in several places in the tradition of the "living Rephaim," and so, from the viewpoint of the Biblical scribes, the Rephaim are indeed the unholy mortal offspring of God; 6) Isa 14 and Ezek 28 places the dead Rephaim in a speech that ridicules foreign kings who believe that they are divine, as they are mocked for their arrogance and their obvious mortality.

Where do they come from? According to the Ugaritic texts, it seems that their myth was already rooted in Ugarit in the mid-second millennium BCE, so they must have appeared at a much earlier stage. If we take into account all of the evidence reviewed here, the recognized geographic places in which we find Rephaim are Canaan, the Philistine colonies, Judea, Ammon, Moab, the whole *Bāšān* area, Lebanon, Sidon, Tyre (probably all of the Phoenician colonies), Syria and Ugarit. However, from of all the places where Rephaim appear, the *Bāšān* area, including parts of Lebanon and Southern Syria, seem to be the best candidate for the origin of the Rephaim for several reasons: 1) Gen 14:5, the first appearance of the Rephaim in the Bible, places them in the *Bāšān* area; 2) the unique name, "Land of the Rephaim," is usually refers to the *Bāšān* area, which they inhabited. This area was probably given its name because of the tradition that this was the origin of the Rephaim according to the Israelites; 3) the Rephaim as a group are linked with a figure named *Ditānu*/*Didānu* (*rp'i 'arṣ*//*qbṣ dtn*/*ddn*: "Rephaim of the land"//"Group of *Ditānu*/*Didānu*") in two important texts.[1] There is general agreement that this figure is a known ancestor that appears in the GHD and AKL as a nomadic ruler who lived in the third millennium BCE, probably somewhere in Syria. Thus, it is possible that *Ditānu* also lived in the region of the Land of the Rephaim; 4) text KTU 1.108 is meant to be a song for the *Rp'u*, the new ruling king of Ugarit, yet it is written in lines 2–3 that *'Ilu*, who dwells in the *Bāšān* area (*'Aštārōt* and *'Ędrę'ī*) takes part in the coronation to signal approval of the new king. The mention of the *Bāšān* along with the new Ugaritic *Rp'u* is not a coincidence, and suggests that according to Ugaritic tradition (as in Biblical tradition), this place is the origin of Rephaim, offspring to *'Ilu*. The *Bāšān* is also known to be one of the places in which the Hebrew God dwelled prior to Mt. Zion, according to the tradition found in Ps 68; 5) in the Ugaritic myth of

1 See KTU 1.15, III, 4, 15; KTU 1.161, 3, 10.

the Rephaim (KTU 1.20–1.22), we find them feasting in a gathering place, somewhere in Lebanon.[2] The region of the Lebanon is linked with the *Bāšān* area in the prophetic literature, which may refer to the Anti-Lebanon mountain range, between Syria and Lebanon.[3] It seems that somewhere in that region, the concept of Rephaim was originated by people of Semitic origin, and then spread to other colonies in the Levant. For example, *Dān'ilu*, the hero from the Ugaritic texts, is glorified by Ezekiel (14:12–20) while addressing a Phoenician king (28:3), showing the commonality of all three cultures, probably before the formation of the known kingdoms.[4] Rulers and kings saw themselves as a direct link to the original Rephaim, the heroes of old, and this link is glorified, suggesting that the ruling king has divine blood in his veins, and he represents the link between gods and men, between heaven and earth.

Those who accepted the myth of Rephaim into their belief system share a similar religion and common gods. Most of these cultures assimilated this concept in a similar fashion: 1) the monarchy, the king, his fathers and sons, considered themselves to be a direct link to the previous Rephaim rulers. This is clearly depicted in KTU 1.161, as all Rephaim, living and dead, gather for the memorial of one of their own. This is also shown in the mention of *Ditānu* in the same text and also in the Story of King *Kirta*. KTU 1.108 tells of the new king of Ugarit, the *Rp'u*, the protector of the city who is glorified and blessed by the gods. KTU 1.20–1.22 tell of King *Yḫpn*, while his siblings, the Rephaim, celebrate the occasion. In the Phoenician sources we find the kings *Tabnit* and *Eshmunazar*, admonishing the possible violator of their tomb to not join the other Rephaim postmortem, as they see themselves as a part of this prestigious group. Biblical *'Og* is also a known king and a member of the Rephaim (Deut 3:11), coming directly from the *Bāšān* area. Isa 14:9 also links the Rephaim and leaders and ancient kings. Thus, kingship and leadership are bound up with the Rephaim. It is the junction between myth and society that intends to present the leader as godlike, while still maintaining his mortal identity. Still, the fact that leaders had seen themselves as Rephaim, does not mean that they were not rivals with other Rephaim leaders; 2) some texts, such as KTU 1.17–1.22, Gen 6:1–4, 2 Samuel 21:15–22 and 1 Chronicles 20:4–8, as well as the deliberate mingling of the Rephaim and giants in Biblical sources, depict the Rephaim as known heroes and warriors. Other evidence, such as *bn dtn*

2 See KTU 1.22, I, 19–26.

3 Cf Isa 2:13; Jer 22:20; Nah 15:4.

4 This is also suggested by theophoric names with the element R-P-' in Amorite texts and other places. See Huffmon, H. B., *Amorite Personal Names in the Mari Texts: A Structural and Lexical Study* (Baltimore, MD: The John Hopkins Press, 1965), pp. 263–264.

("Sons of *Ditānu*") in KTU 4.69, implies that not only were the kings considered to be Rephaim, but also warriors and generals, heroes like Greek Heracles or Achilles, leading their armies or fighting in single combats. They represent strength and power, and the status of being one of them, as well as defeating one of them, is glorified; 3) we find that after they die, the Rephaim are granted a special position in the Underworld. In KTU 1.161 the ancient Rephaim and the recent ones are invoked together to honor the late king *Niqmaddu*. There might have been regular rituals (*kispum*?) to honor the dead kings (*mlkm*?) in which offerings were made to them. Yet, even though they were considered of divine origin, and might be addressed as gods (cf KTU 1.113 and RS 94.2518), they were not treated as principal gods of the pantheon, who had a specific role in the cosmos. The Phoenician inscriptions KAI 13 and KAI 14 contain curses to the tomb raiders and their kings – not joining the Rephaim, whose place in the Underworld is considered to be the best. It cannot be concluded, however, whether the Phoenician colonies perceived the Rephaim as very important, as in Ugarit. What can be said is that they were seen as the best of men in life and in death too.

The Israelite society should be seen as atypical in this discussion. Several monotheistic approaches eliminated the traces of divinity other than the one and only God. Surrounded by powerful cultures which glorified the Rephaim, those who wielded influence dealt with this phenomenon in various ways; the Rephaim are always the enemies of the Israelites, they are monstrous giants that should be destroyed, and their defeat in the time of Moses and David is a heroic act that echoes throughout the generations. In Isa 14 and 26, the Rephaim are addressed in the most accurate way; they are foreign kings, all believed to be of divine origin, who eventually died like all mortals. The need to destroy them, as they are a threat to God's rule, appears in sources such as Isa 26:13–14 and Deut 2:21, and so their possible resurrection is denied (Isa 26:19). The scribes are dismissive of their divine origin (Gen 6:1–4), and they are seen as an unwanted abomination that are rejected like of the Sons of God in the Bible. When we meet the dead Rephaim in Biblical literature, it is clear that these are not the exalted men described in other societies in the Levant, but the worst creatures of all, an object of terror, used to scare children and to represent the deepest and darkest parts of the Underworld. The concept of "dead Rephaim" is turned around, and if joining them postmortem is a blessing in Ugaritic and Phoenician societies (KTU 1.161, KAI 13–14), in Biblical sources it is a terrible curse (Prov 2:18; 9:18; 21:16). This deliberate messaging is intended to remove this concept from the minds of the believers who, according to Ezek 14:12–20 (and maybe Gen 6:1–4), knew tales of such heroes and embraced them. Behind the depiction of the Rephaim in Biblical literature there is a purpose and so,

using these sources to learn of the original function of the Rephaim should be done cautiously and critically.

Why have the Rephaim been the source of so much controversy for over two millennia? 1) their name: The name "Rephaim" is derived from the root R-P-ʾ, although some have suggested other possibilities (as Akkadian *rubū* or R-P-Y). The most obvious meaning of R-P-ʾ as in "healing," along with mistranslations of the Septuagint in some places (Isa 26:14; Ps 88:11, "physicians") led some to believe that the Rephaim had some connection to healing and health. There is not a single instance in all the evidence reviewed in this study that puts the Rephaim in a situation of healing. Some stretch the interpretation of texts far beyond what is reasonable in order to connect two pieces of the puzzle that simply do not fit. The Rephaim's mortality is highlighted in the Legend of *Aqhatu*, the Story of *Kirta*, KTU 1.161 and more, and so it cannot be claimed that they possess any special hardiness or long life. This is ridiculed by Isaiah (14:9–15), who points out the mortality of the Rephaim as a sign of their weakness, but the original perception of them does not deny their mortality, which goes hand in hand with their divinity. The name רפאים should be understood as representing all they truly are; perfect, righteous, intact, flawless, the best of all men, like the original meaning of R-P-ʾ: to bring something to its complete and perfect form; 2) another source of controversy is the connection between the Rephaim and death. The Biblical scribes emphasize the death of the Rephaim in a way that led some to see them as a general epithet for the "dead" and not just a specific group among the dead. The Phoenician texts supposedly strengthened this approach, since the Rephaim that are mentioned in all of the three inscriptions (KAI 13, 14, 177, all mortuary texts) are the dead ones. When the Ugaritic texts were found, the lack of clarity grew, since these characters are depicted as very much alive and active, with the exception of KTU 1.161, which is also a funerary text, like the Phoenician sources. Adding to this the appearance of the word *mtm* ("heroes") describing the Rephaim, which can also be interpreted as "dead," it is almost too easy to construct a theory which depicts the Rephaim as chthonic entities and to build a myth around this concept. Yet, this interpretation fails when it attempts to explain the existence of living Rephaim, the heroes, the kings and the divine men. The Rephaim may live and eventually die, but they do not represent the population of the Underworld, and their basic nature is not chthonic. Nevertheless, they are the most important members of the Underworld postmortem, and their importance is shown in context with the world of the living, as in KTU 1.161, KAI 13–14; 3) the negative and inconsistent approach towards the Rephaim in the Bible increased the confusion in several ways. Firstly, the Rephaim were linked to other ethnic groups (Gen 14:5), or considered to be a people living in

a certain country. Yet the Rephaim appear among ethnic groups in many different places. Secondly, the myth of giants was mingled with that of Rephaim in such an authentic manner, so that the two were considered as one. This inconsistency is proof that either the scribes were not convinced about the nature of the Rephaim in their own time, or that deliberate alterations were made in order to alter the idea of the Rephaim from its foundation. I prefer the second option, as it is clear that Ezekiel and Isaiah knew who and what the Rephaim were in their time, as did their audience.

Isaiah's prophecy (26:13–14) did come true, in a way, since the memory of the original Rephaim has been lost in modern times, and the modern Hebrew word "Rephaim" is often used to describe "ghosts" or "shades of the dead," influenced by one of the Biblical traditions. The Rephaim are not healers, giants, ghosts or a tribe, but a mythical and ancient group of brothers, offspring to *'Ilu*, that spread over many locations in the Levant, creating dynasties that every hero and king wished to see himself as linked to, and to be seen by their people as belonging to them. They symbolize the best in men, and the love of the gods towards humanity as representatives of the divine on earth, leading and protecting the people in their care.

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